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# JOURNAL

OF

## THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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No. 69.—September, 1837.

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I.—*An examination of the PĀLI BUDDHISTICAL ANNALS, No. 2. By the Hon'ble GEORGE TURNOUR, Esq. Ceylon Civil Service.*

[Continued from page 527.]

IN the introductory remarks on the FIRST CONVOCATION, submitted in my preceding contribution, I have stated, collectively, all that I purpose to offer, explanatory of the general history of the THREE GREAT BUDDHISTICAL CONVOCATIONS, held in India, as deduced from the data found in *Buddhistical Pāli Annals*. I should have forwarded, therefore, on the present occasion, the account of the SECOND and THIRD CONVOCATIONS, without further comment, had it not furnished two dates, recorded, both circumstantially and specifically, with peculiar distinctness, which dates are pointedly at variance, in their results, with the chronological evidence, afforded in European literature connected with that particular period of Asiatic history.

The first of these dates is that of the SECOND CONVOCATION, which, as already stated, was held at the completion of the first century after the death of SĀKYA, or before the birth of Christ 443; and the other, that of the THIRD CONVOCATION, which was held before Christ 308 in the 17th year of ASOKO's reign, falling respectively to the dates of the Buddhistical era, 100 and 235.

As it is between these two epochs that the invasion of India by ALEXANDER the Great, and the embassy of MEGASTHENES to the court of SANDRACOTTUS at *Palibothra*, took place, which are considered to constitute the earliest and the best authenticated links connecting the histories of the west and the east, it is reasonable to expect that European criticism will be, at once, and specially, directed to the examination of these particular portions of the Buddhistical annals, with

the view to testing their authenticity by the extent of their accordance with the chronology of the western authorities. I am induced, therefore, to recur here to some of the observations offered, on this question, in my introduction to the *Mahāwanso*, the probable limited publicity of which work is not likely to diffuse those remarks throughout that more extended sphere in which the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society circulates.

The chronological data contained in the *Aṭṭhakathā* on the *Pitakattaya*, and in the *Mahāwanso*, connected with the history both of India and of Ceylon, exhibit, respectively, in a tabular form, the following results.

*Indian Table.*

Accession of each king. Reign.

B. C. B. B. years.

Bimbisāro, .....	603	60	52	{ Sākya attained Buddhohood in the 16th year of this reign. Sākya died and the first convocation was held in the 8th year of this reign. The former event constitutes the Buddhistical epoch.
Ajātasatto, .....	551	8	32	

A. B.

Udāyibhaddako, .....	519	24	16	
Anuraddhako, .....	503	40	8	Collectively.
Munḍho, .....				
Nāgadāsako, .....	495	48	24	
Susunāgo, .....	471	72	18	
Kālāsoko, .....	453	90	28	{ The second convocation held in the 10th of this reign. Collectively.
Nandos, .....	425	118	22	
Nandos, .....	403	140	22	Individually.
Chandagutto, .....	381	162	34	
Bindusāro, .....	347	196	28	
Asoko, .....	319	224	37	{ This monarch's inauguration took place in A. B. 218, four years after his accession, which shews an anachronism in this table of 10 years at his accession. The third convocation was held in the 17th year after his inauguration.

*Ceylonese Table.*

No.	Name.	Capital.	Accession.		Reign.	Relationship of each succeeding sovereign.
			B. C.	Bud.		
1.	Wijayo, .....	Tambapanni,	543	1	38	{ The founder of the Wijayan dynasty. Minister, regent.
2.	Upatisso, .....	Upatissa,...	505	38	1	
3.	Panduwāso, .....	Ditto, ....	504	39	30	{ Paternal nephew of Wijayo. Son of Panduwāso, de-throned.
4.	Abhayo, .....	Ditto, .....	474	69	20	

Interregnum,.....	454	89	17	
5. Pandukābhayo,..	Anurādhapura, 437	106	70	{ Maternal grandson of Panduwāso.
6. Muṭasiwo, .....	Ditto, ....	367	176	60 Paternal grandson.
7. Dewānanpiyatisso, Ditto, .....	307	236	40	Second son.
Mahanago.....	Māgamo.....			{ Brother who found- ed the southern principality of Rohano.
Yatōlatisso, ....	Kalyānia, .....			Son.
Goṭābhayo, ....	Māgamo, .....			Son.
Kalyāni-tisso, ..	Kalyānia, .....			Not specified.
Kākawannatisso, Māgamo,.....				Son of Goṭābhayo.
8. Uttiyo, .....	Anurādhapura, 267	276	10	Fourth son of Mutasiwo.
9. Mahāswo,.....	Ditto, ....	257	286	10 Fifth ditto.
10. Sūratisso, .....	Ditto, ....	247	296	10 Sixth do., put to death.
11. Séno and Guttiko, Ditto, .....	237	306	22	{ Foreign usurpers, put to death.
12. Asélo,.....	Ditto, ....	215	328	10 { Ninth son of Muṭasiwo, deposed.
13. Elāro,.....	Ditto, ....	205	338	44 { Foreign usurper, killed in battle.
14. Dutthagāmani, ..	Ditto, ....	165	382	24 Son of Kākawannatisso.

Subordinate and  
contemporary reigns.

Within the period comprehended in the above tables, there are four specific dates given in the Indian history, and two in the Ceylonese history, all computed from the epoch of the death of SÁKYA which occurred (as already stated) in the year B. C. 543, and which constitutes the Buddhistical era.

The four *Indian* dates are :

1st. SÁKYA attaining Buddhohood in the 16th year of the reign of BIMBISÁRO, B. C. 588.

2nd. \* SÁKYA's death (in the 80th year of his age and the 45th of his Buddhohood) in the 8th of the reign of AJÁTASATTO, in which year also, the first convocation was held, B. C. 543.

3rd. † The second convocation held 100 years after the death of SÁKYA, in the 10th year of KÁLÁSO'KO's reign, B. C. 443.

4th. ‡ The inauguration of ASOKO in the 218th year of SÁKYA's death, at the close of the 4th year after this monarch's accession, B. C. 324.

The two *Ceylonese* dates are :

1st. § The landing of WIJAYO in *Ceylon* on the day that SÁKYA expired, B. C. 543.

2nd. || The arrival of the Buddhistical mission under MAHINDO in

\* Vide Chap. II. of the *Mahāwanso*. † Vide Chap. III. of ditto.

‡ Vide Chap. V. of ditto. § Vide Chap. VII. of ditto.

|| I am by no means confident that I may not be in error in computing this term from the *inauguration* of ASOKO in A. B. 218, instead of his *accession* four years earlier, in A. B. 214.



Ceylon in the 236th year after SÁKYA, being the first of the reign of DEWA'NANPIYATISSO, and the 18th of that of ASOKO, B. C. 307.

All these dates, specific as well as relative, excepting the computed one of the accession of ASOKO, (which alone admits of correction on the plea of a clerical error, to the extent of ten years, in the reign of CHANDAGUTTO) adapt themselves with so much precision to the several epochs they are designed to indicate, that I conceive it would amount to a positive infatuation for any advocate of the cause of Buddhistical literature, to venture to disturb their adjustment on any of the various pleas, of mistranslation, mistranscription, or misapprehension of the writer's meaning ; on which it is but too often the practice to attempt to correct chronological data contained in Indian historical records of remote antiquity.

It appears to me to be impossible for any unbiassed examiner of these records, to follow up the links of this well connected chain of chronological evidence, and arrive at the specific date, assigned to the inauguration of ASOKO, of A. B. 218, occurring at the close of the 4th year after that monarch's accession, without acknowledging that that date is *designedly* a cardinal point in the history, in which it holds so conspicuous a place.

The date of the accession of ASOKO, four years antecedent to his inauguration, being thus distinctly fixed to be A. B. 214 or B. C. 329 on Buddhistical evidence, if that evidence is to be sustained, the invasion of ALEXANDER must, as the necessary consequence, be considered to have taken place in the early part of the reign of ASOKO, and not during the commotions which preceded the usurpation of the Indian empire, by his grandfather SANDRACOTTUS ; and the embassy of MEGASTHENES and the treaty of SELEUCUS must also necessarily fall to a more subsequent period of the reign of ASOKO, instead of their occurring during the rule of SANDRACOTTUS.

Averse as I equally am, either to suggest or to adopt theoretical and hypothetical views connected with oriental research, I must, in candour, admit myself to be persuaded of the correctness of the conclusions which identifies SANDRACOTTUS with CHANDAGUTTO ; and by my adherence to that persuasion, I am necessarily compelled to acknowledge that there is a discrepancy of about 68 years between the western and the Buddhistical chronologies, at the particular point at which this identity takes place.

It is not, however, my intention, nor am I qualified, to analyze the two chains of data, and to balance the weight of the evidence each affords, for the purpose of deciding which of the two preponderates, and indeed once for all, I cannot be too explicit in avowing that the



service in which I have been employed has afforded me neither the leisure, nor the access to the means, that would admit of my prosecuting a comprehensive literary research. The sole object I have in view at present is to collect and arrange matter for the subsequent consideration of competent parties; and if in the progress of this humble task, I occasionally enter upon a critical examination of those materials, I wish those observations to be regarded rather as indexes to the repositories from whence collateral information has been drawn, or indications of the points which demand further inquiry, than as opinions in themselves entitled to weight, and advanced with the view to invite criticism.

In this spirit, and in the prosecution of this design, I proceed to offer the following remarks as explanatory of the grounds on which I am disposed to consider, that the error of the above discrepancy was *designedly* committed by the early compilers of these Buddhistical annals, partly in India, and partly in *Ceylon*, for the purpose of working out certain pretended prophecies hereafter noticed.

In the first place, these minutely adjusted dates are to be found only in BUDDHAGHOSO's *Pālī* version of the *Atthakathā*, and in the *Mahāwanso*; the latter history being avowedly compiled from the *Singhalese Atthakathā*, from which BUDDHAGHOSO translated his version also of the sacred commentaries into *Pālī*; making a pilgrimage from India (where those *Atthakathā* were, it is said, no longer extant) to *Ceylon* for the express purpose of accomplishing that task. Both works, therefore are derived from the same source, viz. the *Atthakathā* brought from India by MAHINDO in B. C. 307, and promulgated by him in *Ceylon* in the native language.

In the second place, these dates are called forth, for the purpose of showing that certain pretended prophecies of SĀKYA and his disciples, all tending directly or indirectly to invest the Indian emperor ASOKO, the heirarch MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, and the island of *Ceylon* with special importance, as the predicted agents by whom, and the predicted theatre in which, Buddhism should attain great celebrity, were actually realized. In the third place, *no mention whatever is made of these prophecies in those parts of the text of the Piṭakattaya* in which the other revelations of SĀKYA himself, are recorded; and where indeed, until a recent discussion raised by me, the heads of the Buddhistical church in *Kandy* believed they were to be found.

The first of those prophecies refers to *Ceylon* and is given in the first sentence of the 7th and the last of the 6th chapter of the *Mahāwanso*.

“The ruler of the world (SĀKYA) having conferred blessings on the whole world, and attained the exalted, unchangeable ‘*nibbāna*,’ seated on the throne,

on which 'nibbāna' is achieved, in the midst of a great assembly of Déwatas, the great divine sage addressed this celebrated injunction of \*SAKKO, who stood near him: one WIJAYO, the son of SĪHABA'HU, king of the land of Lāla, together with seven hundred officers of state, has landed on *Lankā*. Lord of Déwas! My religion will be established in *Lankā*, on that account thoroughly protect, together with his retinue, him and *Lankā*!

"This prince named WIJAYO, who had then attained the wisdom of experience landed in the division *Tambapanni* of this land of *Lankā*, on the day that the succession (of former Buddhas) reclined in the arbour of the two delightful sal trees, to attain 'nibbāna.' "

This revelation or injunction, the object and effect of which are to fix the same day for the date of the death of SĀKYA and the landing of WIJAYO, is not only not to be found in the *Parinibbāna-suttan*, where, if any where, it ought to be recorded, but is omitted even in BUDDHAGHOSO'S Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā* on that portion of the Buddhistical scriptures; nor have the priesthood been yet able to refer me to any other section of the Pāli sacred commentaries where it is to be met with. We shall probably find that this is one of the numerous passages of the historical portion of the ancient *Singhalese Aṭṭhakathā* which BUDDHAGHOSO excluded from his Pāli version. I shall have to advert to these omissions of historical data, in a future notice of the genealogy of Indian kings.

The second prophecy is thus introduced in the 17th chapter of the *Mahāwanso*, propounded by the théro MANINDO, in the account of the arrival and enshrinement in *Ceylon*, in the reign of the Ceylonese monarch DEWĀNANPIYATISSO, of certain corporal relics of SĀKYA obtained from India.

"While seated on the throne on which he attained 'parinibbāna,' these five resolves were formed by the vanquisher endowed with five means of perception.

"Let the right branch of the great bo tree, when ASOKO is in the act of removing it, severing itself from the main tree, become planted in the vase (prepared for it).

"Let the said branch so planted, delighting by its fruit and foliage, glitter with its six variegated colors in every direction.

"Let that enchanting branch, together with its golden vase, rising up in the air, remain invisible for seven days in the womb of the snowy region of the skies.

"Let a two-fold miracle be performed at *Thūpāramaya* (at which) my right collar-bone is to be enshrined.

"In the *Hēmawātako dāgoba*† (Ruwanwelli) the jewel which decorates *Lankā*, there will be a 'dróna' full of my relics. Let them, assuming my form as Buddha and rising up and remaining poised in the air, perform a two-fold miracle.

\* Indra.

† These dāgobas are now in ruins, at *Anurādhapura*. The account of their construction will be found in the *Mahāwanso*.

"The successor of former Buddhos (silently) willed these five resolves: on that account, in this instance, this relic performed this miracle of two opposite results.

"Descending from the skies (the collar-bone relic) placed itself on the crown of the monarch's head. The delighted sovereign deposited it in the shrine. At the enshrining of the relic in the dagoba (on the full moon day of the month of Kattika) a terrific earthquake was produced making the hair (of the spectators) to stand on end.

\* 'Thus the Buddhos are incomprehensible: their doctrines are incomprehensible: and (the magnitude of the fruits of faith, to those who have faith in these incomprehensibles, is also incomprehensible.)'

"Witnessing this miracle the people were converted to the faith of the vanquisher. The younger brother of the king, the royal prince MATTA'BHAYO, being also a convert to the faith of the lord of 'Munis;' entreating of the lord of men (the king) for permission, together with a thousand persons, was ordained a minister of that religion."

This prediction is to be found in BUDDHAGHOSO's *Atthakatha* on the *Parinibbāna-suttan*.

The third prophecy is given in the following words in the 5th chapter of the *Mahāwanso*, as enunciated by the thēros who held the SECOND CONVOCATION in B. C. 443, predictive of MOGGALIPUTTATISSO being destined to preside at the THIRD CONVOCATION, to be held for the suppression of a calamity which was to occur in 118 years from that date. This revelation also is recorded in BUDDHAGHOSO's *Atthakatha*.

"The thēros who held the SECOND CONVOCATION, meditating on the events of futurity, foresaw that a calamity would befall their religion during the reign of this sovereign (Asoko). Searching the whole world for him who would subdue this calamity, they perceived that it was the long-lived Tisso, the brāhman (of the Brāhmalōka world). Repairing to him, they supplicated of the great sage to be born among men for the removal of this calamity. He, willing to be made the instrument for the glorification of religion, gave his consent unto them. These ministers of religion then thus addressed Siggawo and Chandawo, two adult priests. In eighteen, plus one, hundred years hence, a calamity will befall our religion, which we shall not ourselves witness. Ye (though) priests failed to attend on the occasion (of holding the SECOND CONVOCATION on religion); on that account, it is meet to award penalties unto you. Let this be your penance. The brāhman Tisso, a great sage, for the glorification of our religion, will be conceived in a certain womb in the house of the brāhman MOGGALI. At the proper age, one of you must initiate that noble youth into the priesthood. (The other) must fully instruct him in the doctrines of the supreme Buddho!"

On an attentive examination of the foregoing Ceylonese table, and of the historical details furnished in the *Mahāwanso*, the following grounds suggest themselves to my mind for distrusting the correctness

\* A quotation from the sacred commentaries.

of the date assigned for the landing of WIJAYO : and for considering it a fiction.

1st. The improbable coincidence of its occurrence on the precise day that SÁKYA died.

2nd. The aggregate period comprised in the 236 years from the landing of WIJAYO to the accession of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO is apportioned for the most part on a scale of decimation, among the six rájas who preceded DEWÁNANPIYATISSO.

3rd. One of these six rájas, PANDUKÁBHAYO, according to the *Maháwanso*, married at 20 years of age ; he dethroned, when he was 37 years old, his uncle ABHAYO ; and reigned thereafter 70 years. He must therefore have been 107 years old when he died, having been married 87 years : and yet the issue of that marriage MUTASIWÓ succeeded him, and reigned 60 years !

It is obvious, therefore, if the foregoing numerical succession of rájas be correct, that as regards the personal history of the two kings last named, their portion of the whole term of 236 years, which is represented to have intervened between the landing of WIJAYO and the accession of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO, is inadequately filled up by the historical incidents furnished by the *Maháwanso* ; and that a curtailment of at least 60 years is required to adjust the narrative to any admissible duration of human existence.

Before, however, any conjecture can be afforded as to whether that curtailment should be effected by bringing forward the landing of WIJAYO, or throwing back the accession of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO, it will be requisite to examine the ensuing portion of the Ceylonese table ; for the purpose of ascertaining whether that portion also of the Ceylonese history exhibits any chronological incongruity ; and if it does, whether the incongruity demands dilation or contraction for the adjustment of its chronology.

It will there be found that four of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO's brothers, severally, succeeded to the monarchy, and each of them also reigned a term of precisely ten years. Between the accessions of the third and fourth brothers, SU'RATISSO and ASELO, two foreigners named SENO and GUTTIKO usurped the throne, and retained their power for 22 years. ASELO put these usurpers to death, and after his decennial rule, ELÁRO invading *Ceylon* from the *Chola* country deposed ASELO.

Now this ASELO is stated to be the ninth son of the above mentioned MUTASIWO, who enjoyed a long reign of 60 years, after succeeding his father PANDUKÁBHAYO, who at *his* demise, as noticed above, had been married to MUTASIWO's mother for 87 years. As MUTASIWO is not represented to be a minor, supposing him to have only attained



twenty, at his accession, his age, at the time of his death, according to the foregoing data, is left to vary from 80 to 147, as he may have been born in the first, or the sixty-seventh year after his parents' marriage. Whether MUTASIWO died at the age of 80 or 147, from the date of his demise to the accession of his ninth son ASELO, (even supposing him to be a reputed posthumous child of the venerable MUTASIWO) as a period of 90 years had elapsed, he must have been upwards of 90 years old when he commenced a turbulent reign by dethroning and putting to death two foreign usurpers; and closed it when he was past his 100th year, by being himself dethroned and put to death by ELÁRO, the first Cholian conqueror of *Ceylon*. That usurper reigned for 44 years when he was killed in battle by DUTTHAGÁMINI in B. C. 161, from which date, the authenticity of the chronology of the *Mahāwanso* is not only free from all apparent discrepancy, but admits of corroboration by collateral evidence.

It will I think, from the foregoing remarks, be admitted, that the portion of Ceylonese history subsequent to the reign of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO, and down to DUTTHAGÁMINI, is also defective, and that either we must have more *dramatis personæ* to fill up the historical *tableau* exhibited in the *Mahāwanso* between the years B. C. 543 and B. C. 161, or we must contract the duration of the term allotted to the incidents of that early section of the Ceylonese history.

Without going into further hypothetical comments, I venture to assert, after a careful examination of the various annals which I have had the opportunity of consulting, that any inquirer, not a Buddhist bound by his creed to believe in the prophecies before mentioned, will be disposed to decide that it is the chronology and not the general narrative of the history that requires correction.

The smallest amount of curtailment rendered necessary for the adaptation of the preposterous terms assigned to some of the early rulers of *Ceylon*, to an admissible duration of human existence, is about 60 years, between WIJAYO and DEWÁNANPIYATISSO; and a similar amount of retrenchment, between DEWÁNANPIYATISSO and DUTTHAGÁMINI, which would bring down the landing of WIJAYO from B. C. 543 to 423, being a period, (by the double retrenchment) of 120 years; and the accession of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO from B. C. 307 to 247, being a period, (by the second single retrenchment) of 60 years.

The effect which this adjustment has in tending to reconcile the Ceylonese with the European chronology will be noticed, after an examination of the contemporaneous portion of Indian history.

However justifiable it may be to disturb, on these grounds, the date assigned to the landing of WIJAYO, while there is no other

evidence for the support of that date than a pretended prophecy, and while the train of events adduced to sustain that date, incontestibly shows an anachronism, in excess, of 120 years,—I can see no tenable plea on which the correctness of the Buddhistical era founded on the death of SA'KYA in B. C. 542 can be questioned.

There is a chain of uninterrupted evidence in the historical annals of *Ceylon* from B. C. 161, to the present day, all tending to the confirmation of the authenticity of the date assigned to that era. The inartificial manner, also, in which that chain of evidence is evolved, is so different from the guarded adjustments that take place in the four preceding centuries, that it still further tends to conciliate confidence. It will be seen in the *Maháwanso* that the duration of the reigns of all the kings subsequent to DUTTHAGA'MINI are strictly within the bounds of probability; although these terms are seldom stated with such precision as to give the fractional part of the last year in each reign. The absence of this minutiae of chronology must necessarily conduce, in a long line of successions, to an aggregate accumulation of a trifling anachronism. Accordingly when we suddenly come upon a date, recorded to mark the epoch of some great religious schism, or decyphered from some obscure inscription, and we apply that information to the correction of the current narrative, we find, as we ought to find, in the absence of artificial arrangement and falsification of data, accumulations of trivial anachronisms amounting to four, five, and six years, in the long intervals that have elapsed between each of those dates.

And again, when we find that these dates, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, adjust themselves *retrospectively* with the year of SA'KYA's death, and *prospectively* with the present year, A. B. 2380, or A. D. 1837, without deranging (excepting to the limited and necessary extent above noticed) any of that enormous mass of details involved in a history extending over a duration of twenty centuries; it is impossible without rejecting incontrovertible evidence, to question the correctness of the Buddhistical era.

With this conviction, or perhaps it will be called prejudice, strongly impressed on my mind, of the correctness of the date assigned to the Buddhistical era, I look to the details of the three ensuing centuries, of the Buddhistical history of India, for the correction of the blots and discrepancies which European criticism will detect and expose in its comparison of the Buddhistical and European dates, assigned to the era of CHANDAGUTTO's reign; and the consequent inaccuracy of the dates of the SECOND and THIRD CONVOCATIONS.

I have not yet met in Buddhistical records with any prophecy, or



other restraint, dictated either by superstition or imposture, which should have compelled Buddhistical authors to work out their historical narrative so as to bring the 10th year of KĀLA'SOKO to the 100th year of SA'KYA. But some such restraint or motive must doubtless have operated to have led to the manifest distortion of facts, which represents that the SECOND CONVOCATION was held at the close of the 100th year after SĀKYA's death.

In the ensuing translation it will be seen that no less than eight of the leading members who officiated at the SECOND CONVOCATION "had beheld TATHĀGATO." Supposing them to have been only seven years old, even (the earliest age at which noviciates are admitted), in the year TATHĀGATO died, "these repositories of the whole word of Buddho" must have been 107 years old at the time they took their leading part in the SECOND CONVOCATION. On this point, however, the *Mahāwanso* contains very specific information. In the 4th chapter in describing that convocation, it is there stated :

"SABBAKA'MI was at that time high priest of the world, and had already attained a standing of one hundred and twenty years in the ordination of 'Upasampada' SABBAKA'MI, SALHO, REWATO, KUJJASOBHITO, YASSO, the son of KA'KONDAKO and SAMBUSO, a native of Sāna : these six théros were the disciples of the théro A'NANDO. WA'SABHAGA'MIKO and SUMANO, these two théros were the disciples of the théro ANURADHO ; these eight pious priests, in afore-time, had seen the deity who was the successor of former Buddhos.

"The priests who had assembled were twelve hundred thousand. Of all these priests, the théro REWATO was at that time the leader."

As the "*Upasampada*" ordination could not be obtained, even in the early ages of Buddhism, under the age of 20, it follows as a necessary consequence, if the authenticity of this history is to be admitted, that this hierarch was 140 years old when he presided over this convocation. No person surely will dispute the justice of my questioning the correctness of this chronology ; or take upon himself to deny that the correction of the anachronism here pointed out demands a curtailment of at least 60 years.

I am perfectly aware that in suggesting this inevitable retrenchment of 60 years, I *pro tanto* increase and indeed, precisely double the amount of the pre-existing anachronism as to the European date of the reign of SANDRACOTTUS. All, therefore, that I am entitled to deduce from this anachronism is that there is an undeniable and intentional perversion of historical data in the first century of the Buddhistical era. Whether this perversion can be corrected, either directly or inferentially, from other sources, is a question which those orientalists alone can answer, who have other collateral data on which they can rest their arguments.

From the date however of the SECOND CONVOCATION in the 10th year of KĀLA'SOKO's reign, a pretended prophecy already quoted, *does* occur to fetter Buddhist annalists, and compel them to make the 218th year of SA'KYA, fall to the 4th of the reign of ASOKO.

If without reference to any of these prophetic dates, or historical predictions, we follow the narrative history of the Buddhist patriarchs, and which is termed "the sacerdotal succession," we shall find ample justification for throwing equal discredit on the dates of both convocations. In that narrative will be found a consecutive and detailed account of no less than "six generations of preceptors" having intervened from the death of SA'KYA to the meeting of the THIRD CONVOCATION; comprising a period of 235 years, and affording an average of about 39 years for each preceptor. SABBAKĀMI, a member of the first generation, is represented to have presided over the SECOND CONVOCATION, and MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, a member of the sixth generation, over the THIRD CONVOCATION. Had we no other dates given to us, than those of the death of SA'KYA, and of the THIRD CONVOCATION, we should, dealing with averages, place the SECOND CONVOCATION over which SABBAKĀMI presided within 39 years after SA'KYA's death, and in that case the sentence "these eight pious priests in aforetime had seen the deity who was the successor of former Buddhos," instead of being a glaring absurdity would have amounted to an obvious probability. But the unfortunate imposture, emanating apparently in MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, which asserted that SABBAKĀMI had said in the SECOND CONVOCATION, "In eighteen, plus one, hundred years hence, a calamity will befall our religion which we shall not ourselves witness," in reference to the schism that MOGGALIPUTTATISSO suppressed in the reign of ASOKO, has led to these fatal, and at the same time clumsy distortions of historical and chronological data, by Buddhist authors. By placing the SECOND CONVOCATION over which SABBAKĀMI presided in the 100th year, they are obliged to assign to him the age of 140 years, and to make it appear also that the age of the first generation of preceptors had not then passed away. And at the time the THIRD CONVOCATION was held, only 135 years after the SECOND, MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, who presided over it, is represented in the ensuing extract to be of the six generations of preceptors and "an aged person." The *Mahāwanso* mentions with greater distinctness that "in the seventeenth year of the reign of this king (ASOKO) this all-perfect minister of religion (MOGGALIPUTTATISSO) aged *seventy-two* years, conducted with the utmost perfection this great convocation on religion." We are in short, on the one hand, told that at the end of the first century some of the preceptors of the first generation were alive,

and, on the other, that only 135 years thereafter, the head of the church was of the sixth generation, and at that time of the advanced age of seventy-two years.

It is not possible, therefore, to recognize the correctness of any of these dates, which are based on pretended prophecies, and in rejecting them as fictitious we are reduced to the necessity of adjusting the events comprised in these three centuries by two points only, on which alone any reliance can be placed, viz: the Buddhist era of SA'KYA's death, B. C. 543, and the European age of SANDRACOTTUS, (about) B. C. 325. If (as is stated) SANDRACOTTUS reigned \*34 years, his son BINDUSA'RO 28 years, and the THIRD CONVOCATION was held in the 17th year of ASOKO's inauguration and 21st of his reign, we shall have to place the THIRD CONVOCATION in B. C. 242 instead of B. C. 307, which (as the 18th of ASOKO falls to the 1st of the Ceylonese monarch DEWA NANPIYATISSO) would accord with the preceding adjustment of the Ceylonese chronology within the trifling amount of six years.

Although the general result of this adjustment only produces an alteration in the Buddhistical chronology of this period amounting to 65 years, still it is one calculated to occasion an extensive derangement in the foregoing table, from the very circumstance of its assumed claim to minute accuracy.

I do not despair, however, of seeing these discrepancies accounted for in due course of time. We know that the Brāhminical authorities arrange the Māghada line of succession differently from the Buddhistical. There is evidently some confusion in the durations assigned to the reigns of the ten NANDOS. But whenever, or by whatever means, the adjustments are made, they must be made, to the limited extent of the above anachronism, in direct defiance of the Buddhistical authorities extant in *Ceylon*; and by hitting blots, and detecting inaccuracies which have inadvertently escaped the notice of the pious impostors who have spared no pains in endeavouring to interweave the prophetic and falsified chronology of India and of *Ceylon* into each other.

As an illustration of their ingenuity, I give the following extract from another part of BUDDHAGHOSO's *Aṭṭhakathā*.

"In the †eighteenth year of the reign of AJA'TASATTO, the supreme BUDDHO attained *Parinibbānan*. In that very year, prince WIJAYO, the son of prince SI'HO, and the first monarch of *Tambapanni*, repairing to this Island, rendered

\* I am disposed to adopt the reading of the last extract of the *Aṭṭhakathā* which makes this term "twenty-four years."

† This appears to be a clerical error for eight.

it habitable for human beings. In the fourteenth year of the reign of UDA'YABHADO, in *Jambudīpa*, WIJAYO died here. In the fifteenth year of the reign of UDA'YABHADO, PANDUWA'SADEWO came to the throne in this island. In the twentieth year of the reign of NA'GADA'so there, PANDUWA'SADEWO died here. In the same year, ABHAYO succeeded to the kingdom. In the seventeenth year of the reign of SUSUNA'GO there, twenty years of the reign of ABHAYO had been completed; and then, in the said twentieth year of ABHAYO, the traitor PANDUKA'BHAYO usurped the kingdom. In the sixteenth year of the reign of KA'LA'SOKO there, the seventeenth year of PANDUKA'BHAYO's reign had elapsed here. The foregoing (years) together with this one year, will make the eighteenth (of his reign). In the fourteenth year of the reign of CHANDAGUTTO, PANDUKA'BHAYO died here; and MUTASIWO succeeded to the kingdom. In the seventeenth year of the reign of DHAMMASOKO rāja, MUTASIWO rāja died, and DEWA'NANPIYATISSO rāja succeeded to the kingdom.

"From the *Parinibbāna* of the Supreme *Buddho*, AJA'TASATTO reigned twenty-four years. UDA'YABHADO, sixteen; ANURUDDHO and MUNDHO, eighteen. NA'GADA'SAKO, twenty-four SUSUNA'GO, eighteen years. His son KA'LA'SOKO, twenty-eight years. The ten sons of KA'LA'SOKO reigned twenty-two years. Subsequently to them, NAWANANDO reigned twenty-two years. \*CHANDAGUTTO, twenty-four years. BINDUSA'RO, twenty-eight years. At his demise ASOKO succeeded, and in the eighteenth year after his inauguration, MAHINDO théro arrived in this island. This royal narration is to be thus understood."

The fictitious synochronisms attempted to be established in this extract, between the chronology of India and of *Ceylon*, are, it will be observed, most successfully made out. The discrepancies as to the year of AJA'TASATTO's reign, in which SA'KYA died; as to the comparison between KA'LA'SOKO and PANDUKA'BHAYO, and as to the duration of the joint rule of ANURUDDHO and MUNDHO, as well as that of CHANDAGUTTO, all manifestly proceed from clerical errors of the transcribers; as will be seen by the following juxta-positions.

A. B.		A. B.	
		Buddho died and Wijayo landed	
18th of Ajātasatto, .....	1	in <i>Ceylon</i> , .....	1
14th of Udāyabaddako, .....	38	Last of Wijayo, .....	38
15th of Ditto, .....	39	First of Pandewāso, .....	39
20th of Nāgadāso, .....	68	Last of ditto, .....	69
17th of Susunāgo, .....	89	20th of Abhayo, .....	89
16th of Kālāsoko, .....	106	17th of Pandakābhayo, .....	124
14th of Chandagutto, .....	176	Last of Ditto, .....	176
17th of Dhammasoko, ...	235	Last of Mutasiwo, .....	236

With these preparatory remarks, the design of which has been already explained, I shall proceed to translate the following passages descriptive of the second and third convocations, taken from the introduction in BUDDHA'GHOSO's *Atthakathā* on the *Winayo* and *Abhidhammapitako*.

\* In a preceding note, I have stated that I consider this date, though an apparent erratum, to be correct.



## SECOND CONVOCATION.

It is stated in the account of the FIRST CONVOCATION on the *Winayo* that, in the first place, this question was asked by the venerable MAHA'KASSAPO. "Belo'LI, UPA LI where was the *Pārājikañ* first propounded?" and that after other prescribed interrogatories, he questioned him as to its import, its origin, and as to who the party concerned was.

In the course of that discussion, most fully illustrating (the *Pārājikañ*) even from the cause that gave rise thereto, it was set forth by the beloved UPA'LI, who was desirous of explaining every circumstance connected therewith, specifying even by whom it was originated, and by what circumstances it was occasioned, beginning with, "At that period the sanctified BUDDHO was dwelling in *Wéranjá*" and the rest that appertained (to the *Pārājikañ*).

It must be distinctly understood that this was thus spoken by the beloved UPA'LI at the FIRST CONVOCATION, (it did not originate at the SECOND CONVOCATION). From this quotation alone, it is satisfactorily shewn, by whom and when this was said. If it be asked in this place—Why is this adverted to here?—the answer is, with whatever object that "*Nidānan*" may have been investigated by the venerable MAHA'KASSAPO (at the FIRST CONVOCATION) with the same object in — of thoroughly illustrating that "*Nidānan*"—it is begun now also from the commencement with the words, "It is so said by him (BUDDHO)." Be it understood, however, that when these words were spoken by the beloved UPA'LI even at the FIRST CONVOCATION, it was admitted to be a quotation (BUDDHO not being then alive).

By the foregoing it being sufficiently explained by whom, when, and on what account, (the *Winayo* was first propounded in convocation) the details whereof will be found in the respective *Mātiká*, it now remains for me to afford these further explanations.

1st. By whom it was received\* (from *Buddho*).

2ndly. By whom it has been handed down.

3rdly. Where it was authenticated.

For the purpose of explaining these points the passage, "At that period the sanctified BUDDHO was dwelling in *Wéranjá*—" and other similar passages, of which the *Nidānan* of the *Winayo* is composed, having been quoted, it was duly set forth—by whom it was received, by whom it was handed down and where it was authenticated, beginning from the very commencement, thus: "From the mouth of BHAGAWA' himself, it was received by the venerable UPA'LI; and from his mouth, both before the *Parinibbānan* of TATHA'GATO by many thousands of Bhikkhus who had obtained the six *Abhinñā*, and after the *Parinibbānan* of TATHA'GATO, by the *tbéros* who had held the (FIRST) CONVOCATION on *Dhammo*, having MAHA'KASSAPO for their chief."

By whom was it handed down?

In *Jambudīpo*, commencing first from the *tbéro* UPA'LI it was perpetuated, whatever that interval might be, to the period of the THIRD CONVOCATION, through a generation of *A'chāriya*. Hence the appellation of the "*Achāriyān* generation" or generation of preceptors. These were the five victors over sin;

\* Literally "upheld" as a burden is sustained which is passed from one person to another, without being set down.

UPA'LI, DA'SAKO, SÓNAKO, SIGGAWO, and TISSAMOGGALIPUTTO who perpetuated the *Winayo*, uninterruptedly from generation to generation, to the THIRD CONVOCATION, in the laud celebrated by the name of *Jambudīpo*.

The venerable UPA'LI having learned, from the mouth of BHAGAWA himself, this *Winayo*, in its appropriate text (the Páli version) implanted it in the hearts of many. In the fraternity of that venerable personage, from amongst those who having learned the *Winayo*, and acquired a knowledge thereof, those who attained the condition of *Puthujjaná*, *Sótápanna*, *Sakatágámi* and *Anágámi* transcended the limits of enumeration. Of those alone who were sanctified (by arahathood) there were one thousand.

DA'SAKO was a disciple of his fraternity. He having learned the same from the mouth of the said UPA'LI, similarly propounded the *Winayo*. In the fraternity of that venerable person, the *Puthujjaná* and others who, having learned the *Winayo*, had acquired a knowledge thereof, were beyond the limits of computation. The sanctified alone amounted to one thousand.

SÓNAKO was a disciple in the fraternity of DA'SAKO théro. He learned the *Winayo* from the mouth of his preceptor DA'SAKO, in like manner, propagated it. In the fraternity of this venerable personage also, the *Puthujjaná* and others, who, having learned the *Winayo*, acquired a knowledge thereof, were beyond the limits of computation. The sanctified alone amounted to one thousand.

SIGGAWO was a disciple in the fraternity of DA'SAKO théro, and having learned the *Winayo* in the fraternity of that théro, became the chief of a thousand *Arahantá*. In the fraternity of that venerable personage, having learned the *Winayo* he acquired a knowledge thereof, as to the *Puthujjaná*, *Sótápanná*, *Sakatágámi*, *Anágámi* and *Arahantá*, there was no computing their number, either in hundreds or in thousands. At that period in *Jambudīpo* the number of Bhikkhus was very great. The supernatural gifts of the théro MOGGALIPUTATISSO, will be celebrated in the THIRD CONVOCATION.

Thus this *Winayo-pitākan*, be it known, has been handed down through these generations of preceptors, from its commencement to the THIRD CONVOCATION. In order to the due understanding of the THIRD CONVOCATION, this connecting narrative should be borne in mind.

The five hundred sanctified and supernaturally gifted théros, who had MAHA'-KASSAPO for their chief, having held the (FIRST) CONVOCATION on *Dhammo*, and caused it to be universally glorified, and having lived the full measure of human existence, released from all human frailties, were extinguished like lamps exhausted of oil.

Thereafter when, in the prescribed rotation of night and day, a hundred years had elapsed from the *Parinibbānan* of BHAGAWA', certain Bhikkhus resident in *Wésáli*, natives of *Wajjī* (decided) as follows :

" \* The preservation of salt in horn is allowable."

" † The allowance of two inches is admissible."

\* Priests can only keep salt for seven days. The innovation consisted in deciding that if kept in horns, it might be retained for any period.

† Priests should not take substantial food after midday. Here it is allowed till the shadow of the declining sun is two inches long.



" \* Indulgence in the country is allowable." " † Ceremonies in (sacerdotal) residences are allowable." " ‡ Obtaining subsequent consent is allowable." " § Conformity to the example (of preceptors) is allowable." " || Acceptance of whey (as distinct from milk) is allowable." " ¶ The acceptance of (fermented toddy resembling) water is allowable." " \*\* The use of seats covered with cloths (without fringes) is allowable." " †† The acceptance of gold and silver is allowable." These were the ten indulgences which they put forth.

To these persons, the rāja KA'LA'SOKO, the son of SUSUNA'GO, extended his protection.

At that period, the venerable YASSO, the son of KA'KANDAKO, in the course of his pilgrimage among the inhabitants of Wajji, having heard that certain bhikkhus of Wésāli, natives of ‡ Wajji, were propagating these ten indulgences, thus meditated. " Having myself heard of the calamity which is impending over the religion of the deity gifted with ten powers, should I be deficient in my exertions (to avert it) that proceeding would be unbecoming of me: wherefore disgracing these impious (characters), let me glorify *Dhammo*."

Wherever Wésāli might be, thither he proceeded. There the venerable YASSO, the son of KA'KANDAKO, sojourned in the Kutágára hall in the Mahá-wanno wiháro at Wésāli. On that occasion, the bhikkhus of Wésāli, natives of Wajji, on the Upósathá day in question, filling a golden basin with water, and placing it in the midst of the assembled priests, thus appealed to the devotees of Wésāli who attended there. " Beloved I bestow on the priesthood either a *Kahapanañ*, or half, or a quarter of one, or even the value of a *māsa*; to the priesthood, it will afford the means of providing themselves with sacerdotal requisites." All that occurred (subsequently) up to the meeting of the SECOND CONVOCATION (will be found in the *Sattasatikakandako*).

There were selected (for the CONVOCATION) seven hundred bhikkhus, neither more nor less. From this circumstance this convocation on the *Winayo* is called also the "*Sattasatika*" (the convocation of the seven hundred).

At this meeting twelve thousand bhikkhus assembled, brought together by the exertions of the venerable YASSO. In the midst of these, by the interrogation of the venerable RE'WATO, and by the exposition of the *Winayo*, by the théro SABA-KAMI, the ten indulgences being thoroughly inquired into, judgment (of suppression) was finally pronounced.

\* That they might partake in the country, what is denied to them at their wiháros; whereas both are forbidden.

† That they might perform certain ceremonies in their residences, which could only be observed in the Upósathá hall.

‡ Consent ought always to precede any act connected with religion.

§ No example is admitted as an excuse, if the act itself be forbidden.

|| Whereas whey as a component part of milk is considered to be substantial food, and as such cannot be partaken of after 12 o'clock.

¶ No fermented beverage is admissible.

\*\* No costly cover, whether with or without fringes can be used,

†† All precious metals are prohibited.

‡‡ Present *Allahabad*.

Thereupon the théros deciding "Let us again hold a convocation on *Dhammo* and *Winayo*;" and having selected seven hundred bhikkhus, the maintainers of the three *Pitākāni*, and gifted with the qualification of sanctification; and assembling at the *Wālukārāno* vihāro at *Wésali*, and, in the manner that MAHA'KASSAPO had held the (FIRST) CONVOCATION, having purified the whole *Sāsanam* of defilements, revised in convocation the whole of *Dhammo* and *Winayo*, according to the several divisions of the *Pitākāni*, called, the *Nikāyo Argo* and *Dhammakkhando*.

This convocation was brought to a close in eight months; and from its having been held by seven hundred bhikkhus, THIS CONVOCATION has been universally called the *Sattasatika*; and, taking into account the one held previously, it is also called DUTIYA'SANGITI (the SECOND CONVOCATION).

(It is thus recorded in the *Sattasatikakando*). "From amongst those théros by whom THIS CONVOCATION was held, the most renowned were, SABBAKA'MI, SAEHO, RE'WATO, KHUJJASÓBHITO, YASSO and SAMBH'UTO of *Sāna*; they were the disciples of ANANDÓ; and in aforetime had beheld TA'THAGATO. Be it known, however, that, there were also SUMANO and WA'SABBHAGA'MI. These two were the disciples of ANURADDO, and they also in aforetime had seen the TATHA'GATO."

Whosoever the théros might be by whom the second convocation may have been held, the whole of them were individuals of great weight, celebrated by their deeds, and sanctified (by *arahathood*).

This is the SECOND CONVOCATION.

The events intervening between the SECOND and THIRD CONVOCATIONS are stated in this *Aññakathā* in great detail, particularly in reference to the personal history of MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, by whom the LAST CONVOCATION was held. A succinct, but perspicuous, historical account of which period will be found in the 5th chapter of the *Mahāwanso*. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to give the names only of the théros, who were the sacerdotal successors to *Upāli*, to whom the *Winayo* division of the *Pitakataya* was entrusted at the FIRST CONVOCATION. It has been mentioned in a foregoing paragraph that his pupil and immediate successor was DA'SAKO; and that SÓNAKO was DA'SAKO's disciple. His two disciples CHANDAWAJJ and SIGGAWO, were adult priests at the termination of the SECOND CONVOCATION, which, as already stated, was held at *Wésali*, at the close of the first century after the death of BUDDHO, being the year before Christ 443.

On them was imposed the task of converting the youth TISSO, the son of the Brāhman MOGGALI, who, it was predicted by the priests who held the SECOND CONVOCATION, was destined to subdue a calamity that they foretold would befall the religion of BUDDHO, in one hundred eighteen years from that date.

I resume the translation of the *Aññakathā* with these remarks, serving to show the continuity of the sacerdotal succession to a point

at which the circumstances that gave rise to the THIRD CONVOCATION occurred. It is here of importance to notice that the existence of a version of the *Atthakathā* on the *Piṭakattāya* at that period is specifically mentioned.

The following is the passage I allude to :—

“ From the following day, Tisso entered upon the study of the word of BUDDHO. Then becoming a *sāmanēro*, and postponing the study of the *Wenayapitākan* (as the most difficult) he acquired the knowledge of all (the rest) of the word of BUDDHO, together with the *Atthakathā*. From the time of his being ordained *Upasampadā*, continuing to be protected (by SIGGAWO and CHANDAWAGGI) he became master of the (whole) *Piṭakattāya*. The said two persons, the one the preceptor, and the other the ordainer of MOGGALIPUTTATISSO having deposited the whole of the word of BUDDHO in his hands, and lived the ordinary measure of human existence, demised.

“ Subsequently thereto, MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, devoting himself to the prescribed course of sanctified meditation, and attaining arahathood, extensively propagated the *Winayo*.

“ At this period, the rāja BINDUSA'RO had an hundred sons. All these ASOKO destroyed, reserving only prince TISSO, who was born of the same mother with himself. This murderer having reigned a period of four years without celebrating his inauguration, at the close of the fourth year, which was the 218th after the *parinibbānaṃ* of TATHAGATO, entered upon the supreme sovereignty of all *Jambudīpa*, as one united empire. By the preternatural manifestations which attended his inauguration these miracles were wrought.”

These miracles and manifestations will be found in the *Mahāwanso*. They would occupy too much space in this article, and are not essential to the continuity of the history of the Buddhistical scriptures.

The *Atthakathā* proceeds thus :

“ This rāja for a period of three years from his inauguration, lived out of the pale of Buddhism, an heretic ; and in the fourth year became a convert to the word of BUDDHO. His father BINDUSA'RO was of the brāhman faith. He distributed (daily) rice-alms among eight thousand heretics, consisting of brāhmans, and to brāhmanical heretics of the *Pandārāṅga* and other sects. While ASOKO was continuing to bestow these alms within his palace, in the same manner that it had been conferred by his father, on a certain occasion, while standing at a window, having noticed these persons taking their repast with unbecoming avidity, without regard to decorum, restraint over their appetites and devoid of all decency in manners, thus meditated ; ‘ Surely it is requisite that alms, such as these, should be conferred with discrimination ; and in an appropriate manner also.’

“ Having come to this resolution, he thus addressed his courtiers ‘ Go, my friends, and each of you fail not to conduct into my palace those fraternities of brāhmans whom you esteem to be pious characters, that I may bestow alms on them.’ These officers replying : ‘ Lord I most willingly,’ and conducting to his presence the several *Pandārāṅga*, *Jiwakā*, *Nigaṭhā* and other devotees, said, ‘ These, mahārāja, are our arahantā.’

“ Thereupon the rája causing superb seats to be prepared within the palace, said to them, ‘ Proceed;’ and as they entered, ‘ take (added he) each of you the seat appropriate to yourself;’ they, without discrimination, (as to seniority, or superiority in sanctity) seated themselves, some on rich seats and others on wooden forms. The rája noticing this procedure, and being convinced that there was no spiritual merit among them, the appropriate repast having been served to them, allowed them to depart.

“ While he was in the observance of this practice, on a certain day, standing at the window, he noticed passing the palace yard, the *Sámanéro NIGRÓDHO* who had overcome, and who kept in subjection and thoroughly controlled, the dominion of the passions: and who was gifted with the most perfect decorum in demeanour. Inquiring ‘ who is this NIGRÓDHO?’ he was told, he was the son of prince SUMANO, the eldest of the sons of the rája BINDUSA’RO.”

The narrative of the *Atthakathá* then enters into the personal history of NIGRÓDHO, the flight of his mother pregnant of him from *Pāṭilipura*, on the occasion of his father, and the other sons of BINDUSA’RO, being massacred—his birth, education and admission into Buddhistical ordination, and ultimately NIGRÓDHO’s conversion of his uncle ASOKO, who was then supreme ruler of India, to the Buddhistical faith.

The *Atthakathá* also contains the account of the conversion, and subsequent ordination into priesthood, of TISSO, the younger brother of ASOKO, who had already been elevated to the dignity of “*Oparája*” (which would appear to be the recognition of the heir presumptive) as well as of the ordination of prince AGGIBRAHMA’, the husband of ASOKO’s daughter SANGHAMITTA’; and finally, that of his son MAHINDO, celebrated for his conversion of *Ceylon*, and of the aforesaid daughter SANGHAMITTA’. For all these details, also, I am compelled, from want of space, to refer to the fifth chapter of the *Maháwanso*, resuming again my translation of the *Atthakathá* from the point at which the incidents which led to the THIRD CONVOCATION being held, are set forth.

While these advantages and honors were conferred on (the Buddhistical) religion, the heretics (*tithayá*) deprived of those advantages and honors, and finally, unable to obtain even food and raiment, out of covetousness of those benefits and distinctions, having assumed Buddhistical ordination, set forth each their own peculiar creeds, saying “ This is *Dhammo*.” “ That is *Winayo*.” Although they were unable to obtain regular ordination, shaving their own heads and clothing themselves in yellow robes, they sauntered about the wiláros, and intruded themselves during the performance of the \**Upósatho* and †*Pawárána* rites, as well as at the ‡*Sanghakamma* and §*Ganakamma* meetings of the priesthood. With these persons, the bhikkhus would not perform the *Upósatho* rites.

\* Periodical rites, and ceremonies regulated by the changes of the moon.

† Final and conclusive rites and ceremonies.

‡ A meeting of priests exceeding five in number for religious purposes.

§ A meeting of priests below five in number.



At that crisis, *MOGGALIPUTTATISSO* théro thus meditated. "Now is this judgment manifested: at no remote period it will grow into a serious calamity, which no person will be able to suppress, who continues to dwell among these persons." Transferring therefore the charge of his fraternity to the théro *MAHINDO* that he himself might lead a life of seclusive devotion, departed for the \**Ahoganga* mountain (mountain beyond the Ganges).

These heretics, although subjected to every degradation, by the *bhikkhus*, as well as by the *Dhammo*, the *Winayo* and the ordinances of the divine teacher (*Buddho*); and they had utterly failed in attaining the condition prescribed by the *Dhammo* and *Winayo*, nevertheless gave rise to various (calamities, which were like unto) excrescences, defilements, and thorns, unto the religion (of *Buddho*); some of these flocked to the fire (as an object of adoration): others scorched themselves in the manner of the † *Panchatápa* sect: some prostrated themselves towards the sun: others began to declare (openly) "let us destroy your *Dhammo* and *Winayo*." Thereupon the congregation of *bhikkhus* would not perform either the *Upósatha*, or *Pavárana* rites with them; and suspended for a period of seven years, the performance of the *Upósatha*; continuing however to dwell at the *Asókárámo* wiháro (at *Pátalipura*). This circumstance was reported to the *rāja*, the monarch directed this command to be signified to one of his officers. "Repairing to the ‡ wiháro and suppressing this matter, cause the performance of *Upósatha*, to be re-established." This officer not being able to obtain any further explanation from his sovereign, referring himself to the other officers of state, said, "the *rāja* is dispatching me with this command, 'repairing to the wiháro and suppressing this affair, cause the *Upósatha* to be re-established:' in what manuer am I to suppress this matter?" They replied: "We think thus: on any occasion that a (rebellious) province is to be reduced to subjection, the traitors (who raised the rebellion) are put to death. In the same manner, should there be those who refuse to perform the *Upósatha*, the *rāja* must wish that they should be put to death."

Thereupon this minister repairing to the wiháro, and assembling the *bhikkhus*, thus addressed them: "I am sent by the *rāja*, with this command, 'Cause there the *Upósatha* to be re-established.' Lords! perform, therefore, instantly, the *Upósatha*." The *bhikkhus* replied: "Together with the heretics we will not perform the *Upósatha*." The minister, commencing from the pulpit of the chief priest, with his sword chopped off the head of each (who successively refused).

The théro, *Tisso*, observing this officer in the commission of this sacrilegious act, thus thought: "The *rāja* would not send him to slaughter théros: most assuredly this must proceed from the misapprehension of this officer;" and (rushing up) placed himself in the seat of him who had (last) fallen. He (the minister) recognizing the théro (to be the brother of his sovereign) unable to use his weapon, repairing to the *rāja*, thus spoke. "Déwo! I have cut off the heads of such a number of *bhikkhus*, who were recusant in the performance of

\* I have met with this word written *Adáganga Pabbato*, which would signify "the mountain of the subterranean Ganges."

† Having four fires around them while the sun is shining, which made the fifth fire.

‡ The *Asókárámo* wiháro at *Pátalipura* named after *Asoko*, by whom it was built, vide *Mahawánso*.

*Upósatha*; and in due order came to the turn of thy illustrious brother, the *théro* Tisso: what shall I do?" The *rāja*, the instant he heard this, exclaiming, "Wretch! What? Thou sent by me to slaughter the *bhikkhus*?" and being answered, "Yes, *Déwo*!" agonized as if a flame had been engendered in his body! and rushing to the *wihāro*, he thus addressed the *théros* and *bhikkhus*. "Lords! this officer, unauthorized by me, has done this deed: by such (an act) on whom will the sin fall?" Some of the *théros* observed: "That person committed the act by thy direction: the sin therefore is thine." Others said, "The sin is equal in both of you." Others again thus spoke, "Why, *mahārāja*! was it thy intention that he should go and slaughter the *bhikkhus*?" "No, lords! I sent him with a pious intention, saying, 'restoring the priesthood to unanimity, re-establish the *Upósatha*.'" "In that case, thy intention being pious, the sin rests with the officer alone." The *rāja* perplexed (by the conflicting answers) inquired, "Lords! is there any *bhikkhu*, who is capable to restore me to the solace of religion, by removing this perplexity?" "There is, *mahārāja*: his name is *MOGGALIPUTTATISSO*: he, removing this perplexity of thine, is capable of restoring thee to the solace of religion." On that very day, the *rāja* dispatched four *théros*, learned in *Dhammo*, each with a retinue of a thousand *bhikkhus* and four ministers, each with a suite of a thousand persons, saying, "Return bringing the *théro*." They repairing thither, thus addressed (*MOGGALIPUTTATISSO*), "The *rāja* calls thee." The *théro* did not come. For the second time, the *rāja* sent eight *théros* versed in the *Dhammo*, and eight ministers each with a retinue of a thousand persons, who thus delivered their message: "Lord! the *mahārāja* having desired us to say, 'he calls thee,' added, 'return not without bringing him.'" On the second occasion also, the *théro* did not come? The *rāja* inquired of them: "Lords! I have sent twice, why does the *théro* not come?" "Mahārāja! he refuses to come, because he has been told, 'the *rāja* calls.'" On his being thus invoked he may come: 'Lord! religion is sinking: for the salvation of religion render thy aid to us!'" Thereupon the *rāja* adopting that message, sent sixteen *théros* versed in the *Dhammo*, and sixteen ministers each with a retinue of one thousand persons. The *rāja* also inquired of the *bhikkhus*: "Is the *théro* an aged, or a young person?" "Lord! (they replied) he is aged." "Lords! will he mount any vehicle, or a state palanquin?" "Mahārāja! he will not mount one." "Lords! where does the *théro* dwell?" "Mahārāja! up the river."

The *rāja* then thus addressed his mission: "My men! such being the case, spreading a state canopy over a vessel, and accommodating the *théro* therein, and stationing guards of honour along both banks of the river, conduct him hither." The *bhikkhus* and ministers proceeding to the residence of the *théro*, delivered the message of the *rāja*. On hearing this message the *théro* instantly rose, taking up the skin carpet (on which he was seated) saying: "From the commencement, my destiny in entering into the priesthood was the salvation of religion: now is my appointed hour arrived."

On a certain night, the *rāja* had this dream. "To-morrow, the *théro* will reach *Patiliputto*." The dream comprised these particulars—a perfectly white state elephant approaching the *rāja*, and feeling him from head downwards, seized him by the right arm (*dakkimā hatthē*). The following day the *rāja* put this question to his interpreters of dreams. "I have had such a dream: what is to happen?" "Mahārāja! there is some pre-eminent personage who will grasp an offering in his hand\*."

\* This interpretation involves a pun, on the above *Pāli* words.



At that instant, the rāja receiving the report that the théro was coming, repairing to the bank of the river, descended into the atream, till the water gradually rising, reached his knees; and approaching the théro, presented to the disembarking théro his *right arm*. The théro laid hold of his *right arm*. The sabred guards observing this, at once coming to this decision "let us decapitate him," drew their swords out of the scabbard. For what reason did they do this? Because such was the established practice in regard to royal personages. Should any person seize the arm of a rāja, his head is brought down with a sword. The rāja perceiving this (movement) by the shadow only (which fell by him) exclaimed "on account of an offence committed in a former instance, towards the priesthood, I am already deprived of peace of mind: offend not the théro also."

Why did the théro seize the rāja by the arm?

As he had been sent for by the rāja for the purpose of solving a (*panhan*) question, on that account, regarding him in the light of a disciple of his, he laid hands on him\*.

The monarch establishing the théro in his own pleasure garden, and encircling it on the outside with three rows of guards (gave the order) "Watch over his safety." He then having bathed and anointed the feet of the théro, seated himself near him; and for the purpose of satisfying himself on this point. "Is the théro competent, dispelling my doubts and settling the controversy that has arisen, to save the religion?" thus addressed him: "Lord! I am desirous of seeing a miracle performed." "Mahārāja! what description of miracle art thou desirous of witnessing?" "Lord! an earthquake." "Is it, Mahārāja! the whole earth that thou desirest to see quake, or only a portion thereof?" "Of these, lord! which is the most miraculous?" "Why, Mahārāja! in a metal dish filled with water, which would be the most miraculous, to make the whole or half the water, quake?" "Lord! the half." "In the same manner, Mahārāja! it is most difficult to make only a portion of the earth quake." "Such being the case, lord! I will witness the quaking of a portion only of the earth." "For that purpose, Mahārāja! within a line of demarkation, in circumference one yojana, on the eastern side, let a chariot be placed, with one of its "wheels resting within the line. On the southern side, let a horse stand, with two of his legs resting within the line: on the western side, let a man stand with one foot resting within the line: on the northern side, let a vessel filled with water be placed, the half of it projecting beyond the line of demarkation."

The rāja caused arrangements to be made accordingly.

The théro having been absorbed in the fourth *jhānañ*, in which is comprehended the half of the *abhinna*, rising therefrom, vouchsafed thus to resolve: "Let a quaking of the earth, extending over an yojana in space, be visible to the rāja." On the eastern side, the wheel of the chariot resting within the line only, shook; the other did not shake. In the same manner, in the southern and the western sides, the feet of the horse, and the foot of the man, together

\* It is not possible, in a literal translation, to convey *implied* significations. The dedication of a youth to be brought up a disciple in the priesthood is considered an offering. The circumstance of the rāja in this instance seeking religious instruction, as a *disciple* would, is considered to place him also in the light of an offering; and hence the *grasping* his arm, is the *acceptance of an offering*.

with that moiety of their body resting within the line, shook. On the northern side, the half of the vessel also together with the portion of water (appertaining to that moiety) which rested within that circle, shook; the rest stood undisturbed.

The rāja witnessing this miracle, and being thoroughly convinced then, that the théro was endowed with the power of saving the religion, thus submitted his own doubts for solution. "Lord! I sent a minister to the wihāro, saying, "Adjusting the (adhikārān) matter in dispute, cause the *Upāsatha* to be performed. He repairing to the wihāro, deprived so many bhikkhus of life: on whom does the sin fall?"

"Why, Mahārāja! was it thy intention, that he, repairing to the wihāro, should slaughter the bhikkhus?"

"No, Lord!"

"Then, Mahārāja! as thy intention was not such, the sin is not thine;" and thereupon for the purpose of demonstrating his reason, he explained himself by the following *suttān*, commencing with these words (of Buddha) "Bhikkhus! I am explaining that which constitutes an act *with intent*. An act *with intent* can only be committed by (the instrumentality of a member of) the body, by (means of) utterance, or by (the wilful design of) the mind." For the purpose of illustrating this subject, he discoursed thus from the \* *Titira Jātakān*. "Mahārāja, in aforesaid (in a former existence) in a certain country, a snipe thus inquired of a devotee. 'Many (snipes) flock to me, saying, 'our relation dwells here, and calamity befalls them (in consequence of that visit to me by being ensnared by the fowler). My mind is disturbed by painful doubts (as to whether the sin of that calamity rests on me).'

"The devotee replied, 'Was this thy intention; viz. enticing these (birds) either by the sound of my voice, or the attractive display of my person, let them be ensnared and destroyed.'

"'No, Lord!' rejoined the snipe.

"The devotee then thus summed up the matter.

"'If thou hadst no premeditated design, unto thee there is no sin. The act affects only the wilful, not the undesigning, agent: for it is thus said: "If the mind be not influenced by malicious intent, the act committed will not affect the agent, nor will the taint of sin attach itself to the virtuous, who do not wilfully devote themselves (to sinful practices.)'"

The théro having thus exemplified the matter to the rāja, continuing to dwell for some days there, in the royal pleasure garden, instructed the monarch in the doctrines (of Buddha).

On the seventh day, the rāja having assembled the priests at the *Asokārāmo* wihāro, and having formed a partition with a curtain, and taken his seat (with *Moggaliputtatissa*) within that curtain, dividing the bhikkhus professing different faiths, into separate sections, and calling up each sect separately, thus interrogated them. "What faith did Buddha profess? Thereupon the professors of the *Sussata* faith, replied "The *Sussata* faith," and so did the *Ekachhasattika*, the *Antanantika*, the *Amarāchikkhāpika*, the *Asauvāḍa*, the *Nēwasaniwāsaniwāḍa*, the *Uchchēdāwāḍa*, and *Diṭṭhedhammanibbānawāḍa*.

\* The incarnation of Buddha in the form of a snipe, being one of his 550 incarnations. This parable is founded on the belief that snipes migrate in flocks, and that each flock has its peculiar chirp or call.

The rāja having previously been instructed in the doctrines (of the orthodox faith) readily distinguished that these were not bhikkhus, but heretics. Supplying them with white dresses, to be substituted for their sacerdotal yellow robes, he expelled them : the whole of them amounted to sixty thousand.

Then sending for the other priests, he thus questioned them.

"Lords ! what faith did the supreme BUDDHO reveal ?"

"Mahārāja ! the \**Wibhājja* faith ?"

On receiving this answer, addressing himself to the théro, he asked : "Lord ! was the supreme BUDDHO himself of the *Wibhājja* faith ?"

Being answered in the affirmative, the rāja then saying "Lord ! the religion is now purified : let the priesthood now perform the *Upasatha* ;" and conferring on them the royal protection, re-entered the capital.

The priesthood assembling together performed the *Upasatha*. The number of bhikkhus who assembled there was sixty lakhs. The théro MOGGALIPUTTA-risso, suppressing in that community the professions of the creeds of other sects, propounded to them the *Kathāwatthupphākan*. And then selecting, and setting apart, from among the sixty lakhs of bhikkhus, one thousand bhikkhus, from amongst those who were the sustainers of the text of the three *Pitakani*, who had overcome the dominion of sin which is to be subdued, and who were masters of the mysteries of three *Wijja*,—in whatever manner MAHAKASSAPŌ and YASSO théro had held their convocations, on *Dhammo* and *Winayo*, precisely in the same manner, holding a CONVOCATION, and purifying the whole *Sāsanan* from all impurity, he performed the THIRD CONVOCATION. At the close of the CONVOCATION, the earth quaked in various ways.

This CONVOCATION was brought to a close in nine months. It is also called the "SAHASIKA" because the CONVOCATION was composed of a (*sáhāsa*) thousand bhikkhus, and on account of two having preceded it, also the (*Tatiya*) THIRD CONVOCATION.

II.—*Note on the Geography of Cochin China, by the Right Rev. JEAN LOUIS, Bishop of Isauropolis, Vic. Apost. of Cochin China. Hon. Mem. As. Soc.*

[Translated from a memoir kindly communicated by the author †.]

Speaking of the geography of *Cochin China*, M. MALTE' BRUN, whose works on this subject are in many respects highly valuable, has not feared to advance that our knowledge of this country has become more obscure the more it has been handled by successive writers, who contradict one another. In spite of the respect due to an author of MALTE' BRUN's celebrity, (who nevertheless is, I believe, only a fireside geographist,—or, which is the same thing, a traveller

\* Signifies "investigated," also "verified."

† We must apologize to the author for presenting his contribution in English, a work of no small trouble by the way to an Editor, but the difficulty of printing in French would have much retarded the journal.—ED.

who has made the tour of his library,) I will venture to throw some light on what he has regarded as so obscure, and to prove that this country hitherto so unknown is now become familiar to many. "This country," says he, "once comprehended with Tong-king under the general name of *Anam*, was separated from it about 600 years ago, for the first king named, *TIEN VUONG*, who was also the first conqueror" in 1569, held the government until 1614, first as prefect or governor, then as king. "We are ignorant," says the same author, "under what particular name the natives then designated or now designate the country. That of *Anam* is too extensive a term:"—thus, according to our author's notions it is too extensive; but he favors us with no proof in support of his opinion. Ask a Cochin Chinese whence he is; he will reply, 'I am of the kingdom of *An nam*.' These two words signify the 'peace of the south';—*an*, peace; *nam*, south. Some sovereigns of the country have endeavoured from superstitious motives to change this name to *Nam viét*, *Dai viét*, *Viét nam*; but these names, employed only in their edicts or in the laws of the realm, are not in vogue among the people, who always call themselves 'children of the country of *An nam*.' It is true that a stranger may sometimes hear natives in lieu of *An nam* pronounce the word *Ai nam* or *En nam*; which is thus explained. Superstition, and a pretended respect for some of their parents' relations or ancestors forbid their pronouncing certain names. Thus for example, if you ask a Cochin Chinese whose father bears the name of *An*, whence he comes?—He will tell you, from *Ai nam*.

The name of *An nam*, which we translate in Europe by that of *Cochin China*, is the real name of the country. It is also that which is employed uniformly in Chinese books to designate it, although our geographer pretends, that the Japanese gave it the name of *Cotchin-Djina*, 'country to the west of *China*;' and that Europeans thence came to employ the same term. I believe on the contrary that the origin of the name of Cochin China is rather to be sought in the two words *China*, and *Cochin*. The Portuguese who came first to the Indies having fancied some resemblance between the coast of *An nam* and that of *Cochin* on the *Malabar* side of India, and connecting this with its proximity to *China*, gave it the joint name of *Cochin China*, that is, the Chinese *Cochin*.

Here again arises another question; what are the limits of this country? "La nature des lieux, l'extension de la nation et celle du langage Européen bornent le nom de Cochin Chine, ou si l'on veut d'*Anam meridional* à la côte qui s'étend depuis le Tong-king jusqu'à Ciampa, sur 110 lieues de long; et 10 à 25 del arge. Nous



n'abandonnerons point cet usage commode." It is our author who speaks: but how melancholy is it for the reader to hear a man of talent thus framing geographical systems in his head, and refusing to follow newer or more exact information because it does not tally with the "usage commode," or to speak plainly, because it would give a little more trouble.

"If recent or ephemeral conquests," says he, "have brought the coasts of *Camboge* under the rule of the king of Cochin China, this is no reason for changing a nomenclature founded on the difference of nations and on the situations of countries. The geography of the province, offers still greater difficulties. Those who, like some modern navigators, extend Cochin China up to the point of *Camboge*, divide it into three parts, *upper, middle and lower*, or the province of *Hué*." Here, in placing *Hué* in *Lower Cochin China*, the geographer commits a grave error, for that country is situated in *Upper Cochin China*. "The older travellers," says he, "give a much more complex division to the country, and one perhaps more exact, but at the same time obscure; by this we will endeavour to determine the following provinces, proceeding from north to south."

Since M. MALTE' BRUN prefers the most complicated divisions, and even those he acknowledges to be most indistinct, I leave him willingly to indulge in his peculiar taste. A residence of many years in Cochin China having enabled me to run over all the provinces from the 17th to the 9th degree, north lat., I will attempt to clear up what has seemed to him to be so obscure.

The division of Cochin China into three parts is certainly the most convenient. Going from north to south and beginning with about 17° 30' north lat. the first province, or prefecture, is called *Quang bình*, the second *Quang tri*, and the third *Quang dục*. These three prefectures compose what is properly called 'Upper Cochin China,' or vulgarly '*Hué*,' (or sometimes *Phu ? xuân*\*) from the name of the capital which lies in the prefecture of *Quang dục*. But this name *Quang dục* has been changed by the present king. Pretending to be the son of heaven and aspiring to give a name in harmony with this high title, he has designated it *Phu ? thú'a thiên*; i. e. 'province which enjoys the influence of heaven!'

Before passing to other provinces, I would observe that the terms I employ to designate the names of provinces are those most in use;

\* The interrogative sign here denotes that the *u* is to be pronounced with a rising intonation of voice—we have not the various type necessary to express the native words according to the Bishop's system.—Ed.

and best known to the inhabitants : for there are provinces which have received new names from his majesty, though such are only employed in edicts and in the writings of the mandarins, the people adhering to the ancient appellations. For example the prefecture of *Dôngnai*, or province of lower *Cochin China*, is now called *Biên hoa*, and the part known by the Europeans under the name of *Sài-gòn* is now called *Gia dinh*\*. (In writing the native names in Roman characters, I follow the method adopted alike by all missionaries of different nations for the last 200 years. The same may be said of the Tongking names, but as in the latter language there are sounds foreign to the European ear, it is necessary to introduce new symbols to express them. For this purpose the letter nearest approaching the sound has been modified by the addition of some accent or diacritical mark, which will be found explained in the preface of my dictionary now under publication, but which it would be out of place to enter upon in a note on geography.)

Central Cochin China commences about lat.  $16^{\circ}$ , extending to about  $10^{\circ} 45'$ . It comprehends six provinces, or prefectures, viz. *Quang nam* or *cham* : in this province is situated the fine port of *Touron* named *Hàn* by the Cochin Chinese. Four or five leagues south of this bay is the city of *Phai-phô* which was for a long time the focus of the commerce with foreign countries. The wars which desolated this kingdom

\* If it be asked why are these changes ? I will answer, that frequently superstition has most to do with it. Sometimes the old name has not been thought noble enough—and sometimes simple caprice has guided his majesty's will which none dare thwart. *Tota ratio est voluntas facientis*. It is thus that from a whim the king will rase a whole city and re-erect it at some distance, or on an opposite bank of the river ! Can one then accuse a geographer of ignorance if at the epoch of his making a map, the city was placed on the left side of the river, because it happens now to be on the right ? I make this remark in reference to the map of Cochin China which will appear with my dictionary. In 1835 the strong town of *Sai gòn* in lower Cochin China has been utterly destroyed because his majesty chose to build another at some distance, but I know not yet the precise position of the new town. Why is this ? I have said above. Again in 1833 the town of *Sài gòn* was taken by a pagan mandarin who withstood a siege for near two years. When the king's troops succeeded in October 1835, in retaking the place, his majesty guided by superstition, discovered that the situation of the town was not propitious :—and that a diviner should select a better, whither it was accordingly transferred. The diviner will have assured the king that under the new spot dwelt the great dragon for which they have so great a veneration. It is thus that the king revenged himself on the infidelity of his subjects in this province, who were made to labour night and day for 10 or 15 years in constructing this new town,—their only recompense being the *cangue* and the *raton*.



towards the close of the last century have given a mortal blow to this town. It is now inhabited partly by Chinese, who keep up a thriving commerce with their countrymen. The country is fertile and picturesque. It is on the south-west of these mountains that the Cochin Chinese resort to procure the canelle or cinnamon which is preferred in *China* to that of *Ceylon*. A three-days march takes you through this province into the neighbouring one of *Quang ngai* or *Hoa ngai*, which has less breadth than the preceding, but which runs back from the seashore towards the mountains inhabited by the *Moi*, the most terrible of the savage races that occupy the whole chain of mountains skirting the kingdom. Cinnamon is here also made, but sugar is the chief object of traffic. The frequent incursions of the hill savages to repossess themselves of the plains, forced many of the inhabitants to retire. Since the last 40 years they have succeeded in restraining the wild people in their forests, and the population is again increasing.

From *Hoa ngai* you pass into one of the finest provinces of the realm, where from 1780 to 1793 was the capital of one of the usurpers known under the name of *Tát so'n* or mountaineers of the west. Its ordinary name is *Qui nho'n*; others call it *Qui phu*?, or *Bình dinh*. It possesses many ports, but the finest and most vast is that known by the name of *Cu'a gia*. In every part of this province are to be seen those half-ruined brick towers which prove that the country once belonged to the ancient and powerful kingdom of *Ciampa*, reduced about 80 years ago, by the Cochin Chinese who have raised themselves on its ruins.

It has many cocoanut-trees; the oil of this fruit and the ropes prepared with its fibre, as well as the *areca* (betel) and some little silk form its principal branches of commerce.

Next follows the province of *Phú yén*, which forms a kind of amphitheatre, and offers to the view fine fields of rice, gardens of *areca* and betel, in the midst of which appear here and there the humble habitations of the rich proprietors. This province furnishes the best horses in the kingdom. It is separated from the province of *Nha trang* by one of the highest rocks or mountains of the country, which is thence called *Ded ca*?, or 'chief of mountains.' This province extends for six days' journey: it is thinly peopled. It is here that a French officer built a strong towu about three or four leagues from the port of the same name. It stood two sieges, one in 1792, the other in 1793 without falling into the hands of the rebels. They cultivate the mulberry here with success and maintain a thriving business in silk. This province produces the species of *baumier* called *amyris ambrosiana*. It runs from the tree of a blackish color, and has a smell which may vie with the liquid amber of *Linnaeus*.

The last province of central Cochin China is *Biñh Thuán*. This province was formerly the seat of the capital of the kingdom of *Ciampa*, whose inhabitants, now reduced greatly in number, have retired to the foot of the mountains, abandoning to their new masters the sea coast as well as the long sandy range (parage) called the desert of Cochin China.

*Ciampa* was formerly a considerable state, known to Europeans only at the time of its decline. Before the 15th century of our era, this kingdom was bounded on the north by *Tongking*, on the south by *Camboge*, on the east by the sea, and on the west by *Laos* and the mountains of *Yun nam*. The latter people has several appellations among the Cochin Chinese;—such as *Lôi*, *Thuán*, *Thiêng*, &c. It appears from the chronicles of *Java* that they had a brisk intercourse and close relation with the inhabitants of the Malayan archipelago. In the 15th century the queen-wife of the chief sovereign of the isle of *Java* was a daughter of the king of *Ciampa*. Ebony is very common in this country, but the wood which is the most precious, and which is sufficiently abundant is called 'eagle wood,' of which the first quality sells for its weight in gold; the native name is *Kì nam*. This wood, so celebrated among the orientals for its agreeable perfume, possesses also medical properties.

The province of *Biñh thuán* stretches from about lat.  $11^{\circ} 45'$  north to  $10^{\circ} 45'$ ; where commences lower Cochin China; which comprehends all that part of *Camboge* overrun by the Cochin Chinese. This province called *Dống nai*, sometimes *Sài gòn* by the natives and Europeans, is properly named *Già dinh*. It includes six prefectures. The first and nearest to *Biñh thuán* is called *Biến hoa* or *Dống nai*; the second, *Phan yển* or *Sài gòn*, which is the fortified town of the same name. The third is *Dịnh Tu'ò'ng*, vulgo *Mi tho*; the fourth is *Vinh thanh* or *Long hó*; the fifth *Châu đóc* or *An giang*. The sixth is at some leagues from the sea, and is called *Hà tiến*, and by the Europeans, *Cancao*. This last prefecture extends its jurisdiction from the island called *Hòn tram* in the gulf of *Siam*, to about lat.  $10^{\circ} 40'$  N. It is this which separates the kingdom from *Siam*. It is on this island also, (which signifies isle of the guard) that is stationed a legion of soldiers destined to guard the frontier. On the south, the island of *Pulo-ubi*, (or isle of the *igname* plant) situated in lat.  $8^{\circ} 25'$  north, forms the extreme limit of the kingdom.

From the above sketch it is seen that Cochin China contains fifteen prefectures and only ten provinces; for the vast province of *Già dinh* comprises within itself six prefectures. All these provinces are ranged along the coast.

*Tongking*, which since 1802 has been reunited to the kingdom of Cochin China, has twelve provinces, and fourteen prefectures. Two provinces, those of *Thaun* and *Nam* have each two prefectures. The first beginning with lat.  $17^{\circ} 30' N.$  is usually known as *An* or *Nghé an*. It is on the other side of the river *Sông giang* which formerly separated the two kingdoms.

Here follow the names of the other prefectures, proceeding northward to lat.  $23^{\circ} 30'$ , viz.: *Thanh nói*, *Thanh ngoại*, *Hung hoa*, *Nam thu'o'ng*, *Nam ha*, *Hai đông*, *Kinh bae*, *So'n tay*, *Cao bang*, *Lang bae*, *Thai nguyên*, *Tuyên Quang*, and *Yén Quang*. This last rests on the Chinese province of *Cangtong*.

Four of the provinces above enumerated are distinguished as eastern, western, southern and northern, respectively, according to their situation as regards the royal town which is placed in the centre of the four, and which is called *Ke ? cho'* or *bae thành*. They are also named 'the four governments' embracing therein six other provinces. The two remaining are called 'the outer government.'

The province of *Xú' thanh*, which is divided into two prefectures, or *trấn*, is celebrated in the empire of Cochin China as being the country of the three royal dynasties: first, of the dynasty of *Lé*, or of the *Vua*, or kings of *Tongking*, whose princes latterly only retain the empty title of king, without taking any share in the administration:—the dynasty of *Trinh*, which although it never held a higher title than *Chúa* (lord, or regent), exercised all authority in the state:—and thirdly, the dynasty of *Nguyen*, which after holding the rule in Cochin China as *Chúa* or regent, broke from the yoke of *Tongking*, and has exercised absolute and independent sway for thirty-four years over *Tongking* and Cochin China combined. Five provinces may be distinguished as maritime, to wit; *Xú' nghé*, or *Nghé an*, *Thanh nói*, and *Thanh ngoại*, *Nam thu'o'ng* and *Nam ha*, *Hai dong* and *Yén Quang*.

The province of *Nam*, or south, though not the most extensive is the most beautiful and the best peopled. It has hardly any mountain tracts, while the other provinces on the contrary have many mountainous than level ones. *Ke ? cho'*, the ancient capital of *Tongking* belongs properly to none of these provinces. It serves as a focus or common centre to the four principal provinces as before stated. Its name of *Ke ? cho'*, which signifies the market, or chief market, is the vulgar appellation of the town. Its real name is *Thanh long thành*, the city of the yellow dragon. It was constructed in the commencement of the seventh century, when *Tongking* was only a province of the Chinese empire, governed by an officer of the emperor. It was then called *La Thành*, or city of *La*. Towards the end of the tenth century, the first king of



the dynasty *Dinh* erected another town in a place more to the west, called *Hoa lu*. It served but a few years as a residence of the *Tongking* kings. After 40 or 50 years they abandoned it and now the traces of its existence are hardly to be discovered. The first king of the dynasty *Ly*, who mounted the throne in 1010 re-established the town of *Thánh* and changed its name to that of *Thánh long thánh*, or city of the yellow dragon, because of a pretended vision that this prince had on the great river. Although *Tongking* is watered by a great number of rivers and streams, the most remarkable is that to which is given the name of *Tống-ca*?, or great river. I may remark here that none of the rivers of *Cochin China* has any distinctive name applicable to its whole course. The natives employ the general term of *Sông*, river, adding thereto the name of the principal place by which it passes: so that the river changes its name continually, and the name employed applies directly to the portion of its course intended to be alluded to. The great river of *Tongking* has its sources in the mountains of *China*. It runs north-west to south-east, traversing the provinces of *Tuyên Quang*, of the west, the royal town, and the province of the south, at the foot of which it discharges itself through several channels into the sea at the bottom of the gulf of *Tongking*. About 50 years ago vessels used to mount the river as high as *Hiên* or *Héam*, about 25 leagues from the sea, where the French and English had formerly a factory; but now the mouth of the river is obstructed by shoals which no longer permit vessels to enter. The large native *barques* even find difficulty now in entering\*.

I have observed, for the sake of perspicuity, that the number of prefectures exceeded that of the provinces, because certain provinces were subdivided into several districts. The word province is called *Xứ* in Cochin Chinese, and prefecture *Trấn*. Although the number of prefectures has not increased and the provinces remain in *statu quo*, some changes have been made in the mode of administration in 1833. *MINH MANG*, well versed in Chinese literature, seeks always to equal if he cannot surpass his model, the Chinese emperor. *MINH MANG* then has united two prefectures under the inspection of one superior mandarin. The prefecture in which the latter resides is called *Tĩnh*, or 'chief place of the provinces.' This first commander bears the name of *Thống đốc*. The prefecture which is attached to the 'head-quarters' of the province is called *Sanh*, and the civil prefect bears the title of *Ông bố chánh*: he is assisted by a prefect or criminal judge who is called *An sát*.

\* The English office was very pleasantly situated to the north of the town of *Kelcho* on the banks of the river, that of the Dutch was originally close to it.



The *Pracel* or *Parocels*, is a labyrinth of small islands, rocks and sand-banks, which appears to extend up to the 11th degree of north latitude, in the 107th parallel of longitude from Paris. Some navigators have traversed part of these shoals with a boldness more fortunate than prudent, but others have suffered in the attempt. The Cochin Chinese called them *Cón uáng*. Although this kind of archipelago presents nothing but rocks and great depths which promises more inconveniences than advantages, the king GIA LONG thought he had increased his dominions by this sorry addition. In 1816, he went with solemnity to plant his flag and take formal possession of these rocks, which it is not likely any body will dispute with him.

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III.—On the *Bibos*, *Gauri Gau* or *Gauriká Gau* of the Indian forests.  
By B. H. HODGSON, Esq. Resident in Nepal.

To the Editor Journal Asiatic Society.

I have the honor to submit to you the following subgeneric and specific characters of that magnificent wild *Bovine* animal, whose skull Mr. EVANS recently exhibited in your Society's rooms. Amongst my drawings, transmitted to England two years ago, you may remember to have seen delineations of this animal's cranium, pourtrayed comparatively with those of *Bubalus*, *Bos* and *Bisonus*. The distinctive characters, as therein depicted, were certainly sufficiently striking, and were noticed by me at that time: but, until I had had opportunity to examine the whole bony frame of both sexes, I did not venture to give public expression to my conviction that this animal would be found to constitute a new type of the *Bovidæ*. I have recently had such opportunity, and my hesitation has ceased. I have no longer any doubt that the *Gauri Gau* of the *Saul* forest and of the hilly jangals of south *Behar*, is neither a *Bos* nor a *Bison*, but an intermediate form; and, from the vague indications of writers, I apprehend that the *Fossil Urus* of Europe\*, and ARISTOTLE's Persian wild bull with depressed horns, were other species of the same type.

Whether our species be identical with the *Gaurus* or with the *Gayæus* of authors, it is impossible to conjecture; since the descriptions of them amount to little more than the tittle-tattle of *sportsmen*, most unwarrantably (as I conceive) adopted into science by men like TRAILL, G. ST. HILAIRE, and H. SMITH, who have, some of them, made *Bisons* of these animals, and others *Tauri*, according to the almost unaided dictates of mere imagination! My subgeneric and specific characters are both prolix; but so long as our classification continues

\* There are two animals bearing the name of *Bos Urus*.

in its present crude state, this prolixity cannot be avoided. You already possess a good delineation of the skull\*: I subjoin herewith one of the bony trunk. From the combined characters of the two I deduce my subgeneric designation; and to prove the fixedness of those characters, I may add that they are equally conspicuous in both sexes; the most remarkable perhaps of them—viz. the signal development of the spinous processes of the dorsal vertebræ, being also fully revealed in the fœtus in utero†!

The trunk I have sketched for you‡ is that of a female; and you have but to compare it with the trunk of a cow (any breed) to perceive in how signal a degree the superior length of the spinous processes adverted to, distinguishes *Bibos*. Owing to this osteological peculiarity, the back of the living animal, when the head is down (as in the act of grazing) describes almost half a circle from nape to tail. But, owing to the slight development of the analogous processes of the *cervical* vertebræ, and to the extraordinary height of the frontal crest of the head, the state of quiescence in the living animal (the stand at ease) exhibits a deep fall between the head and shoulders, very unlike the continuous downward sweep from nose to croup which is attributed to the Bisons, and is ascribed in them to the development of the spinous processes of both *cervical* and *dorsal* vertebræ, half and half in both. If this be so, the position of the ridge will constitute the distinction, quoad hoc, between *Bibos* and *Bisonus*, as the possession of it by both will constitute a strong affinity between the two groups, and one which it is of peculiar importance to mark, with reference to those principles by which structure seems to be governed throughout the ruminating animals.

On the other hand, the relationship of *Bibos* to *Bos proper* is sufficiently apparent in their common possession of thirteen pairs of ribs, a broad flat forehead, (exclusive of the peculiar frontal crest) and a smooth glossy fine coat, though the value of the last character may be open to reasonable objection.

The size and weight of the skull in *Bibos*, as compared with *Bos proper*, are vastly greater than general proportion would require, if they were organized on the same principles: and to this superior weight of the head in the former must be referred, as to its cause, that signal development of the spinous processes of the dorsal vertebræ spoken of.

\* See Plate XVI. of the present volume.

† I recently procured a specimen of the fœtus from the mother's womb. It was about two months old.

‡ See Plate XXXIX.

We have no instance of this latter peculiarity in any proper *Bovine* animal : and, as it is developed even in the womb in *Bibos*, characterising before birth the *females as well as the males* of the race, we need look no further for an essential difference of structure between *Bos* and *Bibos*.

One word as to the specific name. *Subhemachalus* is bad, because I have now every reason to believe that this animal is found in various and remote parts of India. *Gaurus* and *Gavæus* are bad, because a host of errors cling to the extant descriptions of both, and because we can neither distinguish between the two, nor affirm safely that our animal is identical with either. Names taken from peculiar structure are perhaps the best. Wherefore I would propose the specific name of *Cavifrons* for our animal, as the type of this new form, of which one peculiarity is the concavity of the forehead, caused by that terminal ascending sweep of the frontals which carries them above the highest edge of the bases of the horns, notwithstanding the extraordinary dimensions of the latter. The horns spread latitudinally, both *before* and *behind* the utmost breadth of the frontal crest, but *not* above it. In well grown males the extreme superior limit of the bases of the horns is from one to two inches below the crown of the frontal crest : I am not aware that this inferior position of the horns, nor their strong tendency towards the Bubaline shape (depressed and angular) is to be traced in any true *Bovine* animal.

The popular name of Gauri's bull (from *Gauri* the wife of *Siva*) might suggest the sufficiently euphonious and appropriate appellation of *Gaurianus*, but it is objectionable, because I have reason to believe that its popular proto-type is applied indiscriminately to all the wild bulls of India, some of which are probably *Bisons* (as *Gaurus*) and others, probably congeners of our *Bibos*.

#### RUMINANTES, BOVIDÆ.

Genus *Bos* ; Subgenus (?) *Bibos*, nob.

#### *Subgeneric characters.*

Head and forequarters exceedingly large. Cranium bovine in its general character, but much more massive and depressed : its breadth between the orbits equal to the height, and half of the length : frontals extremely large in all their proportions, deeply concave and surmounted by a huge semicylindric crest rising above the bases of the horns. Postcal plane of the skull vertical, equal to the frontal plane, and divided centrally by the lambdoid crest. Orbits more salient, and rami of the lower jaw straighter, with less elevated condyles, than in the *Bos* : thirteen pairs of ribs. Spinous processes of the dorsal ver-

tebræ extremely developed with gradual diminution backwards, causing the entire back to slope greatly from the withers to the croup. Neck sunk between the head and back. Dewlap evanescent. Horns short, very thick and remote, depressed, subtrigonal, presenting the acute angle of the triangle to the front.

1. Species new and type, *Bibos cavifrons*, nob. *Gauri gau* of Hindus. Habitat, *Saul* forest.

*Specific character*.—Large wild Indian *Bibos* with fine short limbs; short tail not reaching to the houghs, broad fan-shaped horizontal ears; smooth glossy hair of a brown red or black color, paled upon the forehead and limbs; tufted knees and brows, and spreading green horns with round incurved black tips, and with soft rugous bases, furnished posteaally with a fragrant secretion.

10 feet long from snout to rump, and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet high at the shoulder; head (to the crown of forehead) 23 inches, and tail 33 inches. Female rather smaller, but preserving all the characters of the male.

N. B. To all appearance two other species of *Bibos* may be found in the fossil *Urus* of Europe, and in ARISTOTLE's wild bull of Persia with depressed horns. These I would call, respectively.

2. *Bibos Classicus*.

3. *Bibos Aristotelis*.

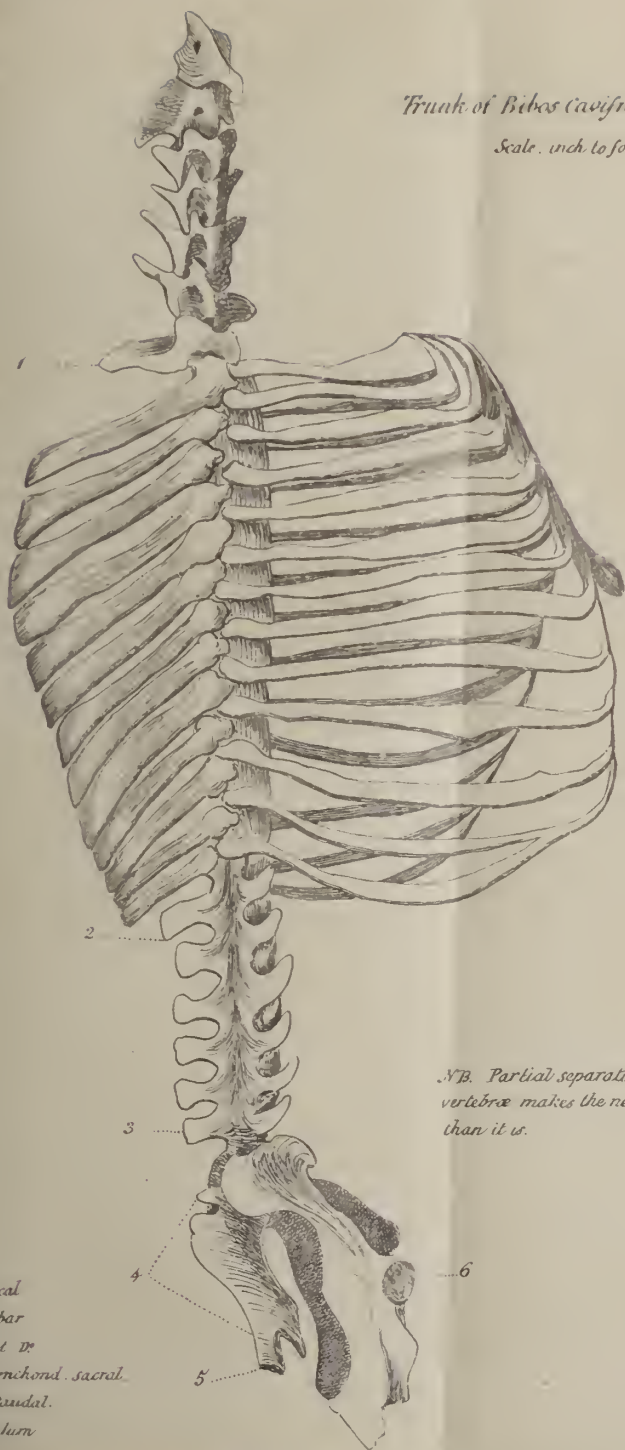
Nor are these animals thus mentioned idly: for the suggested new allocation of them may stimulate curiosity: travellers in Persia may possibly yet discover the living species alluded to by ARISTOTLE; whilst if further research into the fossil remains of the ancient *Urus* of Europe should bring to light the trunk as well as skull of that species, it would be a most interesting circumstance to find that our Indian forests yet shelter a type of form long since swept from the surface of the globe in the Western world: and the proximity of the *Himálaya* renders such a contingency at least probable.

The *Gauri Gau* never quits the deepest recesses of the *Sál* forest, avoiding wholly the proximate *Tarái* on one side, and the hills on the other. It is gregarious in herds of from 10 to 30, the females much preponderating over the males in the herds, though even in a small herd, there are usually two or three grown males whose conjoint office it is to guide and guard the party. This office is discharged with uncommon alertness, proving the animal to possess great perfection in all the senses, and with indomitable courage too, if need be; so that neither tiger, nor rhinoceros, nor elephant dare molest the herd. During the heat of the day the herd reposes in the deepest cover, coming forth at morn and eventides to feed on the small and open pastures interspersed throughout the forest. Here the animals



*Trunk of Bibos cavifrons nob. sœm.*

*Scale, inch to foot.*



*NB. Partial separation of the cervical vertebrae makes the neck seem longer than it is.*



spread, of necessity, in order to feed, but in moving to and from their pastures, they advance in single file, along the narrow beats made by themselves, by elephants, rusas, and other large tenants of this solitary and seemingly impenetrable wilderness.

On an elephant and in the day time you may, if you show yourself distinctly, approach the herd with facility, and I have seen the males stand with a careless indifference within a few paces : probably because they fear not the wild elephant, and are never molested by sportsmen with the aid of the tame one, the sastras having decreed that the "*Gauri* is like unto *Bos*." No gentleman of the country will attempt to kill the *Gauri* ; and plebeians, if they have less tender consciences, have ordinarily no adequate appliances for the work.

Men of low caste, who have pursued the animal to death, with the aid of good guns, describe the chase as very exciting. You must plunge into the deepest part of the forest ; eschew all cooking, because of the odours exhaled ; and all dress, because of its unusual colors.

Three or four men, provided only with water and parched grain for food, proceed to the vicinity of the known haunt of a herd, and, taking up their abode in a tree (for fear of tigers) thence descend daily to 'stalk' the animals, on their feeding ground. The quarry found, the huntsmen spread, under cover of the jangal, and surround the little grazing plot. In doing so, they carefully avoid getting 'between the wind and the nobility' of the *Gauri*, for he has an exquisite sense of smell ; and, should a keen eye be hesitatingly directed on the moving huntsman, he must instantly stand like a stock, till the suspicion fade away. In this manner the approaches are made, and many times without success, owing to the vigilance of the herd which the least unusual symptom causes to retire into the thick jangal, and often with astonishing speed considering the bulk of the animals. In such case the hopes of that day are blighted wholly : but, should no suspicion be excited, and the party, or some member of it, be able to creep within 30 or 40 paces, with a tree at hand to retreat upon, the fire is given, and the tree instantly climbed, if the point of assault have been perceived by the wounded animal. Otherwise, the cover is kept, and the fire repeated ; for, it is seldom fatal at once, and the whole indignant herd, possibly, but, more probably, the wounded individual of it, will scorn retreat, seeking only to discover the injurer. Woe betide him if he be discovered and cannot climb his tree ; for the sufferer will exact a fearful vengeance, and, not satisfied with death, will gore and trample the corpse to pieces. If the tree be gained, a signal proof of the indomitable spirit of the *Gauri* is afforded, and this whether the climber have succeeded in taking up his gun with him, or

not. In the latter case, he may starve, unless his comrades shoot the *Gauri*. In the former case, he may work his will on it; for living, it will not stir from the spot without vengeance; and though a gun be pointed in its very face, and repeatedly discharged, it will continue goring the tree and threatening the assailant, till dead. In cases in which the luckless climber has dropt his weapon, and his companions have feared to come presently to the rescue, the *Gauri* has been known to keep its station at the bottom of the tree for 24 hours, and, it is believed, would never have stirred from the spot, so long as the man was above if the animal had not been eventually destroyed. The Tharús, a tribe of native foresters, assert that the *Gauri's* period of gestation is longer than that of the cow; and, from the appearance of the fœtus in utero, there can be little doubt that the season of love is February, March. One calf only is produced at a time.

The raw-fœtal young is white-skinned; its hoofs are golden yellow; and its head perfectly rounded, in all the cerebral portion.

The voice of the *Gauri* is very peculiar, and quite unlike that of the ox, buffalo or bison, but, as I am not skilled in bestial tongues, I shall not attempt to syllable this utterance.

IV.—*Extracts translated from the Granthas or sacred books of the Dadupanthí Sect. By Lieutenant G. R. SIDDONS, 1st Light Cavalry, Second in command, 3rd Local Horse, Neemuch.*

As I find from the perusal of the May number of the Asiatic Journal that you consider my translation of a chapter from the *Dadupanthí Granthas* interesting, I do myself the pleasure to forward you another 'On meditation.' I may as well observe, that they are not from the commencement of the *Grantha*, but selected by me as being in my opinion best qualified to shew the moral and religious ideas of the sect.

When not interested in the subject, I chanced to visit one of the *Dadupanthí* institutions at a village near *Samblur* and was particularly struck by the contented and severe countenances of the sectaries. There were a Principal and several Professors, which gave the place the appearance of a college. The former occupied a room at the top of the building, and seemed quite absorbed in meditation; the professors however were communicative enough, though I did not make any inquiries concerning the founder of their sect, for which I am now sorry, because it does not seem accurately known who *DADU* was\*, and I have been assured, perhaps not from the best autho-

\* See page 480 which had not reached the author when this was penned.—ED.



city, that he was born a Mussulman. The sect is maintained by the admission to it of proselytes, and marriage is, I believe, forbidden, as also the growing any hair about the face, which gives to the priests the appearance of old women. If I should again have an opportunity of making inquiries regarding DADU I will not overlook it. In the meantime, I beg to subscribe myself, &c.

विचारका अंग ।

G. S.

दादू जल से गगन गगन मे जल है। पुनि वै गगन निरालं ।

ब्रह्मजो। वहहि विधिर है ऐसा भेद विचारं । १ ।

अंदरपन में सुष देषिरे पांणी में प्रतिविंब ।

ऐसे आत्मा राम है दादू सबही संग । २ ।

जब दरपनमां है देषिरे तब अपनां स्तब्ध आप ।

दर्पन विन स्तब्ध नहीं दादू पुनि अरु साप । ३ ।

दादू जियेतेन तिलनि में जियेगंध फुलनि ।

जिये मधुग द्वार में ईधेरवुरु हनि । ४ ।

दादू जिनि यह दिलमंदिर किया दिलमंदिर में सोइ ।

दिलमां है दिलदार है और न दूजा कोइ । ५ ।

मोत तुम्हारा तुम्हक के तुमहीलेह पिहानि ।

दादू दुरिन देषिये प्रति विंब अूं जानि । ६ ।

दादू नाल कवल जल उपजै क्यूंजु दाजल मांहि ।

बंदहिहित चित प्रीतडी यो जल मेतोनांहि । ७ ।

दादू एक विचारसौ सब धै आराहोइ ।

मांहें है परमन नहीं सह जिनिरं जन सोइ । ८ ।

दादूको ठिअचारिन एक विचारी तजनसर भरिहोइ ।

आचारी सब जगभखा विचारी विरला कोइ । ९ ।

दादू घट में सुषआनंद है तब सब ठाहर होइ ।

घट में सुषआनंद विन सुषोन देखा कोइ । १० ।

मेटीमाया न जिगये सुषमनोयें जाई ।

दादू को कूटै नहीं माया बडी वलाई । ११ ।

दादू सूखममांहि ले। तिनका की जैत्याग ।

सबत जिरातारामसां। दादू। यह वैराग । १२ ।

गुण अतीत सो दरसनी आपा धरै उठाइ ।

दादू निर्गुण रामगहि डोरी लागा जाइ । १३ ।

खंड मुकति सबको करै प्राण मुकति नहीं होई ।  
 प्राण मुकति सतगुर करै दादू विरला कोइ । १४ ।  
 दादू कुषाढषा क्यूं भूलिये सीत तप ति क्यूं जाइ ।  
 क्यूं सब बूटै देह गुण सतगुर कहि समझाइ । १५ ।  
 मांहीथी मनका ढिकरि लोरावैनिज ठौर ।  
 दादू भूलै देह गुण विसरि जाइ सब और । १६ ।  
 नांव भूला वैदेह गुण जीव दसासव जाइ ।  
 दादू हाउ नांवकों तौ फिरि लागै आइ । १७ ।  
 दादू दिन दिन रातारांम सैं दिन दिन अधिक सनेह ।  
 दिन दिन प्रीवैरांम रस दिन दिन दरपन देह । १८ ।  
 दादू दिन दिन भूलै देह गुण दिन दिन इंद्रोनास । १९ ।  
 दिन दिन मन मन सामरै दिन दिन होइ प्रकास । २० ।  
 देहरहै संसार में जीव रांमके पास ।  
 दादू कुछ व्यापै नहीं काल भाल दुषवास । २१ ।  
 काया की संग तितजै वैठा हरि पदमांछि ।  
 दादू निरभय है रहै कोइ गुण व्यापै नांछि । २२ ।  
 काया मांछै भय घणां सब गुण व्यापै आइ ।  
 दादू निर भय घर किया रमे नूर में जाइ । २३ ।  
 पडग धार विषनांमरै कोइ गुण व्यापै नांछि ।  
 रांमर है त्यूं जनर है काल भाल जलमांछि । २४ ।  
 सहज विचार सुष में रहै दादू वडा विवेक ।  
 मन इंद्रोपसरै नहीं अंतरि राखै एक । २५ ।  
 मन इंद्रो पसरै नहीं अह निरि एकैध्यान ।  
 पर उपगारी पाणिचां दादू उत्तम ग्यान । २६ ।  
 में नांहीं तव नांव क्या कहा कहा वै अप ।  
 साधोक है विचारि कारि भेटै तन की ताप । २७ ।  
 जब समझा तव सुरभिया गुर सुपियान अलेख उलटिस मांनों सेई ।  
 कबूक हावैज वल्लभें तव लग समझ न होइ । २८ ।  
 जब समझा तव सुरभिया । गुरु मुषि ज्ञान अलेख ।  
 उरध कबल में आरसी । फिरि करि आपा देष । २९ ।

प्रेम भगति दिन दिन वधै । सोई ग्यान विचार ।  
 दादू आत्म मोधि करि मधि करि कायासार । २९ ।  
 दादू जिहि वरियां यऊ सब कुछ भया । सो कुछ करै विचार ।  
 काजी पंडित बावरे । क्या लिष बंधे भार । ३० ।  
 जव यऊ मनहीं मन मिल्या । त । कुछ पाया भेद ।  
 दादू ले करिलाइये । क्यापढि मरिये बेद । ३१ ।  
 पांणी पावक । पावक पांणी । जाणै नहीं अजाम ।  
 आदि अंति विचार करि । दादू जाण सुजाण । ३२ ।  
 सुषमां हैं दुष बद्धत है । दुषमां हैं सुष होइ ।  
 दादू देष विचार करि । आदि अंत फल दोइ । ३३ ।  
 मोठा धारा धारा मोठा । जाणै नहीं गंवार ।  
 आदि अंति गुण देषि करि दादु । किया विचार । ३४ ।  
 कोमल कठन कठन है कोमल । सूरष मर मन बूझै ।  
 आदि अंति विचार करि । दादु । सब कुछ सुझै । ३५ ।  
 हे प्राण पहिली विचार करि । पीछे पग दीजै ।  
 आदि अंति गुण देवि करि । दादु कुछ कीजै । ३६ ।  
 पहिलो प्राण विचारि करि । पीछे आवै जाइ ।  
 आदि अंति गुण देषि करि । दादु रहै समाइ । ३७ ।  
 दादू सोचि करै सो स्वरि वां । करि सोचै सोकूर ।  
 करि सोचासुष स्याम है । साचि कियां सुषनूर । ३८ ।  
 जो मति पीछे उप जै । सो सभि पहिलो होइ ।  
 कवह्न होवै जीव दुषी । दादू सुषिया सोइ । ३९ ।  
 आदि अंति चलबे किया । माया ब्रह्म विचार ।  
 जहां कहां तहल्लेधस्या । दादू दे तन वार । ४० ।\*

\* The orthography is left without correction as in the original. The letter घ it must be remembered is to be pronounced *kh* or *ख*. We have arranged the verses according to their measure and rhyme, in lieu of carrying them on continuously in the native fashion.—Ed.

*Translation of the Chapter on Meditation.*

Reverence to thee, who art devoid of illusion, adoration of God, obedience to all saints, salutation to those who are pious. To God the first, and the last.

He that knoweth not delusion is my God.

1. DADU hath said, in water there exists air, and in air water ; yet are these elements distinct. Meditate, therefore, on the mysterious affinity between God and the soul.

2. Even as ye see your countenance reflected in a mirror, or your shadow in the still water, so, behold RA'M in your minds, because he is with all.

3. If ye look into a mirror, ye see yourselves as ye are, but he in whose mind there is no mirror cannot distinguish evil from good.

4. As the *tīl* plant contains oil, and the flower sweet odour, as butter is in milk, so is God in every thing.

5. He that formed the mind, made it as it were a temple for himself to dwell in ; for God liveth in the mind, and none other but God.

6. Oh ! my friend, recognize that being with whom thou art so intimately connected ; think not that God is distant, but believe that like thy own shadow, He is ever near thee.

7. The stalk of the lotus cometh from out of water, and yet the lotus separates itself from the water ! For why ? Because it loves the moon better.

8. So, let your meditations tend to one object, and believe that he who by nature is void of delusion, though not actually the mind, is in the mind of all.

9. To one that truly meditateth, there are millions, who, outwardly only, observe the forms of religion. The world indeed is filled with the latter, but of the former there are very few.

10. The heart which possesseth contentment wanteth for nothing, but that which hath it not, knoweth not what happiness meaneth.

11. If ye would be happy, cast off delusion. Delusion is an evil which ye know to be great, but have not fortitude to abandon.

12. Receive that which is perfect into your hearts, to the exclusion of all besides ; abandon all things for the love of God, for this DADU declares is the true devotion.

13. Cast off pride, and become acquainted with that which is devoid of sin. Attach yourselves to RA'M, who is sinless, and suffer the thread of your meditations to be upon him.

14. All have it in their power to take away their own lives, but they cannot release their souls from punishment ; for God alone is able to pardon the soul, though few deserve his mercy.

15. Listen to the admonitions of God, and you will care not for hunger nor for thirst ; neither for heat, nor cold ; ye will be absolved from the imperfections of the flesh.

16. Draw your mind forth, from within, and dedicate it to God ; because if ye subdue the imperfections of your flesh, ye will think only of God.



17. If ye call upon God, ye will be able to subdue your imperfections and the evil inclinations of your mind will depart from you ; but they will return to you again when ye cease to call upon him.

18. DADU loved RA'M incessantly ; he partook of his spiritual essence and constantly examined the mirror, which was within him.

19. He subdued the imperfections of the flesh, and overcame all evil inclinations ; he crushed every improper desire, wherefore the light of RA'M will shine upon him.

20. He that giveth his body to the world, and rendereth up his soul to its Creator, shall be equally insensible to the sharpness of death, and the misery which is caused by pain.

21. Sit with humility at the foot of God, and rid yourselves of the impurities of your bodies. Be fearless and let no mortal qualities pervade you.

22. From the impurities of the body there is much to fear, because all sins enter into it ; therefore let your dwelling be with the fearless and conduct yourselves towards the light of God.

23. For there, neither sword nor poison have power to destroy, and sin cannot enter. Ye will live even as God liveth, and the fire of death will be guarded, as it were with water.

24. He that meditateth will naturally be happy, because he is wise and suffereth not the passions to spread over his mind. He loveth but one God.

25. The greatest wisdom is to prevent your minds from being influenced by bad passions, and, in meditating upon the one God. Afford help also to the poor stranger.

26. If ye are humble ye will be unknown, because it is vanity which impelleth us to boast of our own merits, and which causeth us to exult, in being spoken of by others. Meditate on the words of the holy, that the fever of your body may depart from you.

27. For when ye comprehend the words of the holy, ye will be disentangled from all impurities, and be absorbed in God. If ye flatter yourselves, you will never comprehend.

28. When ye have learned the wisdom of the invisible one, from the mouth of his priests, ye will be disentangled from all impurities ; turn ye round therefore, and examine yourselves well, in the \*mirror which crowneth the lotus.

29. Meditate on that particular wisdom, which alone is able to increase in you, the love and worship of God. Purify your minds, retaining only that which is excellent.

30. Meditate on him by whom all things were made. Pandits and Qázis are fools : of what avail are the heaps of books which they have compiled ?

31. What does it avail to compile a heap of books ? Let your minds freely meditate on the spirit of God, that they may be enlightened regard-

\* उरध कवच मेञ्जरामे is the original.

ing the mystery of his divinity. Wear not away your lives, by studying the vedas.

32. There is fire in water and water in fire, but the ignorant know it not. He is wise that meditateth on God, the beginning and end of all things.

33. Pleasure cannot exist without pain, and pain is always accompanied with pleasure. Meditate on God, the beginning and end, and remember that hereafter, there will be two rewards.

34. In sweet there is bitter, and in bitter there is sweet, although the ignorant know it not. DADU hath meditated on the qualities of God, the eternal.

35. Oh man ! ponder well ere thou proceedest to act. Do nothing until thou hast thoroughly sifted thy intentions.

36. Reflect with deliberation on the nature of thy inclinations before thou allowest thyself to be guided by them ; acquaint thyself thoroughly with the purity of thy wishes, so that thou mayest become absorbed in God.

37. He that reflecteth first, and afterwards proceedeth to act, is a great man, but he that first acteth, and then considereth is a fool whose countenance is as black as the face of the former is resplendent.

38. He that is guided by deliberation, will never experience sorrow or anxiety : on the contrary he will always be happy.

39. Oh ye who wander in the paths of delusion, turn your minds towards God, who is the beginning and end of all things ; endeavour to gain him, nor hesitate to restore your soul, when required, to that abode from whence it emanated.

V.—*History of the Rájás of Orissa, from the reign of Rája Yudhishtira, translated from the Vansávali. By the late ANDREW STIRLING, Esq. C. S.*

[The substance of this history is introduced in the translator's "Report on Orissa Proper or Cuttack," published in the Asiatic Researches, vol. XVI. but the present manuscript (in the lamented author's own hand) is worthy of preservation as the source whence the materials of his excellent memoir were drawn. It is our object to collect all native accounts of the kind in their original state to serve as records and authorities, quantum valeant. We have left the GILCHRISTIAN orthography to save trouble: the scholar can readily transfer the names into the classical form, while the common reader will pronounce them more in the present native fashion, from their actual dress.—ED.]

On the death of rája JUDISHTER the period of the *Kali Yuga* obtained complete prevalence. In this jog the actions of men are good in the proportion of  $\frac{1}{4}$  and vicious in that of  $\frac{3}{4}$ . The average stature of man is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cubits.

After the death of this rája (YUDISHTHIRA), rája PUREEKHIT reigned 237 years. In the plenitude of his power and glory this prince perform-

ed the *Aswamedha yuga* ; having by accident incurred the displeasure and the curses of a brahmin named *TUKSHAKA*, he was bit by a snake. The rája, knowing that his end was at hand, had the *Sree Bhagwut Pooran* read to him, and then resigned himself to his fate.

His son *JANAMA JAYA* ruled 220 years. To revenge the death of his father this rája performed the *Surp avatar* jog and destroyed snakes innumerable. The serpent *Tukshaka* who had bit rája *PUREEKHIT*, alarmed at this spectacle, betook himself to the heaven of *Indra* to pray for assistance, and was saved through the interference and supplication of that deity. Rája *SURSUNKH DEO* succeeded and reigned 170 years. This prince caused to be excavated the tank called *Sursunkh*, and founded the temple of *SREE DHOLESWAR MAHADEV* between the *Mahanuddee* and the ghat of *Janjpore*, (*Yajapoor*.)

After him rája *GOTAMA DEO* reigned 175 years and,

Rája *SUNCARA DEO* reigned 88 years. This latter prince dug numerous wells and tanks of all sizes and descriptions.

Then rája *MEHINDER DEO* reigned 170 years, rája *SERISSU DEO* 194 ditto, rája *GUNDHUR DEO* 175, and rája *SETA* or *SWETA DEO* 185.

The latter prince was succeeded by *BEER BICKERMAJEET* (*VICRAMADITYA*) who governed the country 130 years. This prince by means of enchantments subjected to his will and authority the *DEO* named *ASHTA BEITAL*.

He was succeeded by rája *SHUSHANGA DEO* whose reign lasted 117 years. After him rája *BHOJA* reigned 180 years. This was a highly accomplished prince acquainted with all the sciences. Seven hundred and fifty-two poets of celebrity resided at his court. Amongst them by far the most distinguished and accomplished was *CALIDASA* who composed the poem called the *Maha Natuk*. Rája *BHOJ*, built fort *Barabuttee*. To him is ascribed the introduction of the use of boats and ships, the invention of wheeled-carriages, ploughs, water-mills and the weaver's loom, and the establishment of the imposts called *sayer*.

Rája *ABHEE MUNNOO DEO* succeeded and reigned 125 years. This prince was acquainted with the past, the present, and the future.

Afterwards rája *TEEPOO DEO*, reigned 135 years. It was this prince who first ordained that four cowries should be called one *gunda*, twenty *gundas* a *pun*, and sixteen *pun* one *kahawun*. He invented likewise the measure of weight called the *seer*.

Then rája *BHAM DEO* ruled 120 years. He established pecuniary mulcts for particular offences.

Rája *AKUTTA* or *ABUTTA* reigned 53 years. This prince was remarkable for and indeed received his name from his eating his food without either cutting or chewing it.

RÁJA CHUNDA DEO reigned 13 years. Then came the reign of mahárája INDRA DYAMNA, which lasted at two different periods for 333 years. The country of this king was *Malwa*. He built the temple of *Sree Jeonh Pursottem Chutr* with stones quarried from the mountain *Anoola Salee* distant 160 coss from that place, which he brought to the spot loaded on the backs of tortoises. \**“After finishing the building he went to the heaven of Brahma to bring down Brahma Jeo to consecrate it. He found Brahma absorbed in the worship of Purmesur. After stating the object of his visit therefore in the most supplicatory manner he determined to wait until Brahma should have leisure to attend to his request on completing his worship of Sree Jeo. In this long interval, a violent irruption of the ocean took place which overwhelmed the temple at Pursottem Chutr and covered it entirely with sand so that all traces of it were lost, and the memory of the building passed away from the minds of men.*

After this period rája GAL MADHAVA reigned 137 years, this prince beholding a vast plain of sand all around at *Pursottem Chutr* was accustomed to ride over it on horseback in every direction. One day by accident the hoof of his horse struck on the *Neel Chukr* or metal spire of the temple of rája INDRA DYUMNA which sent forth a sound. The rája surprised looked about to ascertain the cause of the noise, and at last discovered the temple. He then began to dig away the sand, and at the end of three years and three months had entirely restored the building to its former state. About this time rája INDRA DYUMNA having persuaded Brahma to accompany him from his heaven arrived at the spot. A furious dispute now arose between the two monarchs both claiming the temple as his own. BRAHMA interfering desired them to contend with words no longer, but to produce evidence to establish their statements, when a proper decision should be passed. Mahárája INDRA DYUMNA then said; “The crow which sits on the kulp bur tree, and the tortoises which brought on their backs the stones used in the building of the temple shall be my witnesses.” BRAHMA accordingly went in company with the two rájás to listen to the testimony of the crow. On arriving at the site of the tree, they found the crow (which by some miraculous change had become *Chutoor Bhooj* or four-legged) laying asleep on the surface of the water of the tank called *Rohacc kund*. BRAHMA placing his hand on the back of the bird conjured it to speak and declare who built the great temple close at hand. The crow starting from its sleep cried out “What, BRAHMA, art thou who hast thus awakened me? Even the thousand-faced BRAHMA is not entitled to disturb my rest.”

\* Literal translation.



BRAHMA replied "True, but I again conjure thee, say whose temple is this." The crow then answered, "It is rája INDRA DYUMNA'S. It was long buried in sand from an inundation of the sea; rája GAL MADHAVA cleared away the sand and has restored it to its former condition." The parties then went to the *Indra Dyumna \*Talao* where there were many tortoises, who as soon as they saw Mahárája INDRA DYUMNA all plunged to the bottom. BRAHMA asked wherefore they fled, they answered, "Rája INDRA DYUMNA is come back again. We fear lest he should again load us with stones and pay us for our labour as scurvily as before, seeing that he only gave us a daily allowance of a handful of rice, a gourd, and a little bhunna of the value of about a cowree." Rája GAL MADHAVA became now overwhelmed with shame and was obliged to acknowledge himself in the wrong. He died shortly after. Then the rája INDRA DYUMNA having performed a jog placed the Dar Brahm image in the temple with due ceremony. The image of NEEL MADHAVA disappeared from that time. The principal ranee named MOOKTA DEVI founded the temple called the *Mookta Mundup* and ranee GOONDICHA, another of his wives, built the *Goondicha Mundul†* and established the ruth jatra. At the time of the festival the latter ranee stood before the great ruth of *Jugunnath* which is called *Nundee Ghose* and prayed thus: "Oh divinity, let none of my offspring survive, lest becoming inflated with pride they should lay claim to the merit of having built the temple and say, the image is ours." The same ranee enclosed the temple with four walls, which was called the Meghad enclosure. Her prayers were so well attended to that all the children of rája INDRA DYUMNA died away and none was left to perpetuate the race.

The sovereigns of the *Kesuree Buns* (or *Vansa*) dynasty then succeeded to the government.

The first of these, CHUNDRA KESUREE ruled 52 years. Then rája JUJJAT KESUREE ruled 96 years, KURUNG KESUREE 117, and rája SOORUJ KESUREE 117 years. The latter rája founded the village of *Gope*. He was succeeded by rája LULLAT KESUREE who reigned 113 years. He built the famous temple of *Bhovaneswara*, and his ranee dug the tank called *Bindoo Sagur*. Then rája BUSUNT KESUREE reigned 95 years, and PUDUM KESUREE 59 years. The latter prince

\* The famous tank near the *Gondichar Nour*, called vulgarly *Inder Dummun Talao*.

† The *Goondicha Mundul* retains its old name. It is the building to which *Jugunnath* is taken during the ruth jatra. The great ruth also is still called *Nundi Ghose*.

paid tribute to no one. He built the temple of *Ananta Poorooshottama Deva Thakoor*, and his ranee established a jatra there in the month of Cheyt.

Rája NIROOPA KESUREE reigned 48 years. This prince committed fornication with the females of the brahmin tribe, as a punishment for which offence the race of the KESUREE BUNS princes became extinct.

The CHOURANG dynasty\* next reigned. Rája UDI PATCHOURANG held the reins of government for 90 years. This prince put a stop to the worship of all the gods and goddesses excepting SREE BIRJAE DAR (at *Janjore*), GOTAM CHUNDI DEBEE, and KALIKA DEVEE. He established in *Orissa* the historical record called *Mandula Panjee* †, and also a tax on marriage which proved very oppressive. It occasioned ruin to the family of a particular brahmin and broke his heart: in dying he breathed a sigh before *Purmesur jeo* which produced the extinction of the *Chourang* race.

The SOORUJ BUNS dynasty‡ then succeeded; rája SOORUJ DEO swayed the sceptre for 78 years. He built *Sarungurh* and established five different “*Kuttuks*”§ or seats of government; the 1st at *Janjore*; the second at *Amrabuttee*; the third at *Choudwar*; the fourth, at *Chulta*||; the fifth at *Bunarussee*¶, (the site of the modern *Cuttack*.)

Rája GUNGESWARA DEO succeeded and reigned 92 years. This prince conquered the whole country between the *Ganges* and the *Godavery*, subduing each of the rájas in succession.

Afterwards rája EKAETTRE KAM DEO reigned 76 years. He was void of all passions and sensual desires, and devoted solely to religion. He never ate without hearing the *Geet Govinda* repeated.

Rája ANNUNG BHEEM DEO, succeeded and reigned 65 years. He rebuilt the temple of *Sree Jevah Porsuttem Chutter* and carried the edifice to a great height. This prince was renowned for his piety and the splendour of his court. He established the worship of the deotas on a proper footing, granted large assignments to brahmins, and appointed sixteen great officers of state called *Sawunts* for his own service, besides 72 *Nigogs* (servants of different descriptions),

\* Chourang Vansa.

† The historical records of the temple at Jugunnath are called *Mandula Panjee*.

‡ Sooruj Vansa.

§ *Kuttuk* appears to be a Sanskrit word having the signification given in the text.

|| I am ignorant where this may be.

¶ A village called *Bunarussee* still exists on the extreme point of the island where the *Keetjonee* and *Mahanuddee* separate.

and 36 offices. The titles of Sawunt, Mungraj, Burjunna, Patsahanee, Chotra, Raee Gooroo, and Purrera\* had their origin with this prince. He however put to death a number of brahmins; to expiate which offence he established the three daily Bhogs (offerings of food at the temple of Jugunnath), founded numerous Mundups and dug no less than 84 wells and tanks.

After him rája ATEE DEO reigned 27 years. He built the temple of *Ullah Nath* in the *Ootra Khund* or northern country. It is said that in that temple the sound of the music of the heavenly choristers in the court of INDRA could be heard.

Rája PERTAB BHEEM DEO, reigned 39 years: his principal minister was ACHOOT DAS PURRERA. This prince conquered as far as *Boud* and built the temples of Pursuram Jeo and Hunooman Jeo, at the ghat of *Janjepore*.

Rája PURSOTTEM DEO reigned 27 years. This rája made a vow that he would enjoy the persons of a lac of women. He had got through 60,000 when all his limbs became rotten and dropped to pieces. So he died.

After him rája LANGORA NURSING DEO, reigned 18 years. He built the temple at *Kunaruk*. This prince was renowned for his strength and skill in all athletic exercises. He could break a block of stone with a blow of his fist. Many say too that blood flowed from his eyes continually and that he had a tail like a monkey. His dewan was SHIBAE SINGH SOONTRA.

Afterward rája BARE BHANOO DEB reigned 22 years. In the reign of this prince rice in the husk sold for K. 1123. P. per bhurum. In other words a dreadful famine was experienced,—he was poisoned by some of his courtiers.

Rája SALOOKA NURSING DEO reigned 18 years. In this rája's reign also there was a severe scarcity. The necessities of life rose to such a price that thousands perished of hunger, and in their distress even lost all regard for the distinctions of caste†.

Rája KUPIL INDRA DEO reigned 32 years. In his reign darkness prevailed over the earth for seven days together. Rája BHANOO DEB reigned 26 years. It is said of this rája that having on some occasion found a hair in his *Mahapershad*, he punished the *Shewuks* of the temple most severely in consequence. The *Shewuks* complained bitterly before the idol of the treatment they had experienced, and

\* All well-known Oorish names in the present day.

† The account adds, MAN SINGH visited *Orissa* in this reign. If this is AK-BER'S MAN SINGH there must of course be some error in the statement.

prayed Jugunnath to vindicate their characters. Accordingly Purmesur Jeo appeared in a vision to the rája and said "The hair which you found in the *Mahapershad* was a hair from my head." The following day the rája saw a hair on the head of the image of Sree Sree Maha Prubhoo which he plucked out, when miraculous to relate blood flowed. From that time the Bhog or offering of food called the Bal Bhog was established.

Afterwards rája KUBER NURSING DEO reigned 36 years. In his time lightning struck the temple of PURSARAM THAKOOR and threw down a great part of it. The stones falling into the river formed a new stream called the *Mudagoonee*. In this temple one might hear the sound of heavenly instruments from the swerga regions. The dewan of this rája was a person named BEROO PAKHEH. His reign was remarkable for witnessing the performance by an individual of the pious ceremony called the *Sak Poshee Narinder*, or the feeding of a thousand persons. The rája farther established the *hat* called the *Sundh hat*, dug the famous tank called *Nurinder Sooruj*, and founded the Chundra jatra of Sree Jeo.

Afterwards rája DHANAVA DEO reigned 26, and rája BULEE BHANOO DEO 23 years. The former prince drank wine and committed incest with his daughter, to expiate which crimes he dug the tank called *Kosla gung*. In the reign of this prince paddy sold at two kahawuns per bhurum; rice at 10 cowrees per seer; cotton at 1 p. 5 g. per seer.

Rája KHERKA NURSING DEO, then reigned 1 year 3 months, and rája PERTAB ROODER DEO 36 years. The latter prince subjected to his dominion the whole country as far as *Setbund Ramesir* (the bridge of *Rama*.)

Rája KHUKAROOA DEO reigned 8 years. He lost his life in playing at the game called humgnoree. With this prince ended the race of *Sooruj Buns* monarchs.

Afterwards came the *Gunga Buns* dynasty\*.

The first of these princes rája BEER BHANOO DEO reigned 25 years. The remarkable circumstance of his reign is that he established the Khundaits in the country of *Orissa*. Rája NURSING DEO reigned 39 years. He built the bhog mundup and constructed the shed within the walls of the temple of Sree Jeo called the *Koorome Bedha*. He also introduced the idols called the *Puttia Gumputtee Thakoor* and *Muddun Mohun Thakoor*. With this prince the *Gunga Buns* dynasty ended.

The princes of the *Bhoee Buns* dynasty† succeeded.

\* *Gangá Vansa*.

† *Bhui Vansa*.



The first of these, rája KUPEL INDER DEO, reigned 40 years. He built the temple of *Kupileswur Mahadeo* and conquered *Bidya Nuggur*.

Afterwards rája PURSOTTEM DEO reigned 30 years. This prince conquered the country of *Kunjee Kavery* and brought the *Sut Badee\** Thakoor from that place. During his reign a person named RUKUT BAHOV entered *Orissa* and plundered and laid waste the country. The rája at length succeeded in expelling him and pursued him as far as the banks of the *Ganges*.

Rája GOBIND DEO reigned 10 years, a very unjust and oppressive prince. Rája CHUKA PERTAB DEO reigned 2 years and 15 (days?). In the plenitude of his power and arrogance he ordered the Shewuks of *Sree Jeo* to bring grass for his horses, who indignant at the requisition, placed a little grass on the singhasun and uttered these complaints which were attended to. The rája shortly after died by poison.

Afterwards rája TOKA RUGGOO DEO, reigned 8 years, 8 months, and PURSOTTEM DEO 18 years. The latter prince was a *Sree Kishen Bhugut* (query? worshipper of Krishna). He built three ruths and performed the *Gondicha jatra* with them. He established the *Busant Oochut Jatra* likewise. FUTTEH KHAN† murdered the son of this rája who had been guilty of no offence whatever. When rája PURSOTTEM DEO died, 13 of his ranees burnt with his corpse.

Rája GUNGADHUR DEO reigned 3 years. He was thrown into a cave and perished. Rája BULLUBH DEO then reigned 8 years, 8 months, and rája KUNJULLA NURSING DEO, 17 years. The latter prince was burnt alive.

Then Rája TELINGA MOOKOOND DEO reigned 22 years and 8 months. Whilst this prince was absent with his whole army on a pilgrimage to bathe in the *Ganges*, the well known *KALAPAHAR* took advantage of the opportunity to make an inroad into *Orissa*. This *KALAPAHAR* was originally a brahmin, the story of his conversion to Muhammedanism is thus told. The king's daughter‡ became smitten with his person and determined to gratify her passion, she endeavoured to visit him but was deterred from approaching near him by the appearance of his household goddess who shone like a flaming fire. She was then obliged to have recourse to stratagem and contrived with the consent of her father and mother to make him eat flesh and drink wine in consequence of which acts he lost caste, his guardian deity abandoned him, and he became an apostate from his faith. From this period

\* *Satya vádin*, truth-speaking.

† Who was FUTTEH KHAN?

‡ Is this the daughter of SOLIMAN GOORGANEE king of Bengal at that period, whose general, *Kalapahar* is so styled in some accounts?

must be dated the subjection of *Orissa* to the Mussulman government. *KALAPAHAR* pushed straight for *Pooree* with the intention of destroying all the once famous Hindu places of worship. As he entered the place a thick darkness came on which prevailed for several hours. The invader did much injury to the temples of *Sree Jeo*, cut down the *Kulp Bur* tree, and even threw the image itself of *Purmesur* into the fire. It was kept in the flames constantly for seven days but in vain, not a particle of it was even singed. The image was then thrown into the sea from whence it was recovered by a person named *SOODAN DAS*, who concealed it in the hollow of the instrument called *murdung*, and placed it with great veneration in a private part of his house. After *KALAPAHAR* had committed numerous excesses and abominations, a swarm of bees issued from the temple of *Bhovaneswar*, attacked him with their stings and drove him frantic with rage and pain out of the country.

Afterwards rája *RAM CHUNDER DEO* succeeded to the throne and reigned 38 years and 4 months\*. This prince re-established the *Dar Brahm* image in the dewul of *Sree Jeo*. He was summoned to *Nirmulla* by rája *MAN SINGH* on the part of the emperor *AKBER* who conferred on him a *Khelaat*. The *mouzahs Ramchunderpore, Beer Ramchunderpore, Bijye Ramchunderpore, and Abhee Mokhree Ramchunderpore*, were founded and peopled by this prince.

Rája *PURSOTTEM DEO* reigned 22 years. He founded *Pursottempore, and Beer Pursottempore*.

Rája *NURSING DEO* succeeded and reigned 26 years. He founded the *Nursingpore Sasun* and dug a large tank there. A person named *DEB PUHRAJ* a brahmin, who had received some injury from the rája, went secretly to the Moghuls and gave information of his proceedings. He brought back with him a party of Moghul troops who fell upon the rája whilst he was employed in consecrating the tank, and put him to death after a sharp contest with his troops. Before this event the rája had conquered *Gurh Ram Mundee*.

Rája *BULBHUDDER DEO* reigned 39 years. He founded the *Bulbhuderpore Sasun*. This rája conquered and subjected to his authority numerous *Gurhs* and *Killahts*.

Afterwards *MOKOOND DEO* rája reigned 34 years, and 4 months. He taking with him *KUNWULA DEI, PAT MAHADEI ranee* conquered the whole country to the banks of the *Ganges*. He built a *Nour* or

\* From this time of course the reigns of the Oorjah rajas are merely nominal, as the Moguls took possession of the whole country excepting the hilly regions, *Khunda Pooree* and the 4 pergunnahs, *Sunbaee, Rahung, Seracoen* and *Choubeescood*.

palace at *Betpore* and in the 37th Auk went to bathe in the Gundukee river. He married the daughter of BANDHOO BAIAR SINGH. He came from *Budree Narain* on the boat called a champ, to the Nil Kundur that is Pursottem Chutter, where he worshipped Jugunnath Jeo and founded the Mukoond Bullubh Bhog. He died of the small-pox at *Jaujpore*.

RÁJA DIRB SINGH DEO reigned 27 years and 8 months. In the 7th Auk the gates of the temple of Jugunnath closed suddenly. Afterwards in the 21st Auk a person named JYE JEE RAMA came with a party of 380 people and opened them. RÁJA DIRB SINGH DEO killed the KHUNDART of *Burung* and took possession of his country. He conquered also *Banpore* and built a palace at *Rutheepore* in *Khoonda*. He died in the 34th Auk\* at *Ponee*.

HURIRIKISSEN DEO succeeded and reigned 40 years. This rája made a quantity of chunam by burning cowries and whitewashed about one half of the great temple of Sree Jeo.

Afterwards rája GOPINATH reigned seven years and 2 months.

RÁJA RAMCHUNDER DEO reigned 12 years. He was renowned for his strength and skill in athletic exercises. This prince was entrapped by MOHUMMED TUKKE (the Mussulman Soobedar) who put him in confinement, killed his dewan BUMOO BHOWURBUR, and exercised authority in his country for some time. He afterwards escaped through the intervention of SREE JEO, and recovered possession of his country but was killed in a contest with the Mussulmans.

He was succeeded by rája BEER KISSORE DEO who reigned 44 years. In the 2nd Auk, PUDLABH DEO of Puttier aspired to the rajgee, and gained possession of it for a short time, but was betrayed by rája BEER KIPNE DEO's people, who pretended to espouse his cause, and put to death. In the 17th Auk the Marhattas laid waste Khinda and took possession of the pergunnahs with Pursottem Chutter eli; in the 23rd Auk NARIAN DEO came into *Orissa* and claimed the rajgee. The rája's dewan was sent to the Marhattas to beg assistance, who dispatched a force to his aid on his agreeing to mortgage the pergunnahs *Seraeem* and *Simbaee*. NARAIN DEO was accordingly driven out and BEER-KISSORE DEO then took up his abode at *Banpore*. The rája was now seized with a desire to learn the enchantment called the *Ashta Bietul Deo*, and whilst studying intently the requisite incantations he lost his reason. He was then plundered by his bukshee DAMOODUR BHOWURBUR who took him into *Cuttack* to the rája RAM PUNDIT by whom he was confined and his grandson DIRB SINGH DEO installed

\* Perhaps a contraction of *abhishék*, the year of his reign.

in the rajgee. In rája BEER KISHORE DEO's time two dreadful famines were experienced\*.

Rája DIRB SINGH DEO reigned 18 years. He was an excellent and virtuous prince. He paid a regular peshcush and built the nour at Khonda Gurh. Rája MUKOOND DEO reigned after him 20 years. In the 9th Auk the Feringees entered *Cuttack* and acquired the province of *Orissa*.

VI.—*Some account of the valley of Kashmir, Ghazni, and Kábul; in a letter from G. J. VIGNE, Esq. dated Bunderpore, on the Wuler lake, Kashmir, June 16, 1837†.*

My conscience smites me for not having according to your request sent you a word or two on the *αστεα και νοον ανδρων* of the countries which I have lately visited. I have to request you in perusing the following observations, to bear in mind that they are chiefly from memory, as my notes are at *Loodiana*, and that had I intended, when I quitted England, to visit these regions of past, present, poetical, and coming interest, I should have been better prepared both with information and instruments for scientific research.

Before speaking in detail of the natural curiosities of *Kashmír*, it must be remarked that by far the greatest is the valley itself. To say nothing of its verdant lawns, its innumerable streams and the dense deodar and fir forests on its southern side; it cannot I imagine be contemplated as a rocky basin or cradle, without admiration of its size, and its unrivalled proportions of height to distance. By the *Poonah* road it is 160 miles marching from *Bunber* to *Baramula* very severe in places. By the *Rajawur* road somewhat less to *Shupeony*. Its greatest length is 75 or 80 miles. Its greatest breadth does not exceed  $24^{\circ} 13\frac{1}{2}$  miles by actual survey in a straight line from the hill of *Skupton* to that of *Islamabad*. Its smallest width is about 14 miles. The height of the peaks of the *Pir Punjal* will be found I think, when actually taken, to be at about 16,000 feet. *Abramukha* on the north side of the valley is higher; and is so consi-

\* All these are well known occurrences in the modern history of the province.

† We are much obliged to Mr. VIGNE for this interesting account of some of the countries he has lately made his home. We have left his notes as they stand, bespeaking some indulgence from his readers for the want of strict arrangement in a hasty epistle,—but a much larger share for the blunders we have doubtless committed in many of the names; for besides the difficulties of a crossed and interlined manuscript in no very legible hand, the letter reached us soaked through and nearly obliterated by a journey of 1,500 miles in the rains. We were forced to recopy the whole before the compositors could undertake it.—ED.



dered by the natives. A curious belief is current with them that no poisonous snake exists within view of its summit.

*Nangá Parbat* or *Diarmal* as the Tibetans call it, is one of the noblest peaks I ever saw. It will be found to be 18,000 or 19,000 feet in my humble judgment. It rises near *Assor* or *Astor*, about half way and on the left of the path to *Little Tibet*, and is usually concealed in the clouds when the other mountains are uncovered.

There are two other peaks of vast height named *Nanou* and *Kanou* between *Kashmír* and *Ladák*, near the village of *Marchwerwand*. Baron HUGEL saw them from the *Pir Punjal*: I was not so fortunate in my weather.

There are a dozen passes which are called highways, that are often used: and 500 places by which an active mountaineer could pass in and out of the valley.

The *Pir Punjal* pass and others on the south side are about 12,500 feet high. *Poonah*, which is the only one, excepting that of the valley of the *Jelum* to *Baramula*, that is open all the year for horse and foot, is only 8,700 feet by the boiling point.

Of the two passes to the north, that by *Derans* to *Ladák* on the right and *Iskardo* on the left is open all the year for foot. The way to *Iskardo* by *Deosea* or *Deosch* is said not yet to be practicable for horses. I am waiting here for a day or two in consequence.

The source of the *Jelum* is 10 miles or more beyond *Veraag*. I have visited it; my thermometer gave me to the best of my recollection between 9 and 10,000 feet. It is very singular that its source should not be adorned with a single Hindu monument when there is hardly a large spring without one. The *Jelum* above *Islámábád* is called the *Sandren*; thence to *Baramula* it is known only by the name of the *Vet* or *Wet*, or *Beyah*; thence in the pass it retains with the Hindus its Sanskrit name the *Vetasta*: the natives simply call it *Deriah* "the river." It winds 36 times in its course between *Islámábád* and *Baramula* and forms 16 islands. In *Kashmír* it is one of the most tranquil rivers I ever saw; its rush in the spring through some parts of the *Baramula* pass is terrific. It is a miniature of the rapids above Niagara.

*Lakes*.—There are 17 in the plain and mountain together, the largest is the *Wuler* on whose banks I am now writing. I measured it yesterday. It nowhere exceeds 13 miles across. *Tauk* is the only island, 4 miles from *Baramula*, containing about 2 acres. It is said that a city stood where the lake now is, and that the ruins visible beneath the water were collected and formed into an island. There is a Hindu ruin on it and a masjid built by *Bud shah*: it is said there are ruins all around it. I struck my foot against a stone whilst swimming there at

several yards from the shore. There is no mountain stream of any size that pours its waters into this lake. The *Singara* is collected here in great quantities. The *Jelum* flows along its south-western edge; it is fed by landsprings bubbling to the surface here and there, and is very shallow generally. The city lake is fed by two streams; that on which the *Shalumar* is built and the *Tail Bal*, a deep and full river 20 yards in width, which flows from the glacier behind the *Shalumar* 9,000 feet in height. The greatest width of this lake does not exceed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The lotus flower is abundant; and more than 50 different species of plants are in bloom during four months in and near the water. The *Shalumar* is of polished black block marble, 24 yards square, with a colonnade north-east and south-west: ornaments copied from the Hindus. The lake has two islands and a causeway. One is the *Chehar Chenar* (isle of *Chenar*) or *Rupa Lauk* and the other *Sona Lauk* from the buildings that were on them. On the latter island was a four-walled building used by the *Patins* as a starving prison. There are perhaps 1,000 floating gardens that would be taken for beds of reeds till they are looked into and the melons are seen: 50 yards by 3 is the usual size, and each garden is sold for a rupee or two.

Seven kinds of flat-bottomed boats are used in *Kashmír* of the dingee shape. They are propelled by paddles of deodar of 500 or 1,000 *kirwaks* each; and are used for bringing rice to the city.

When the river rises, the floodgates shut of themselves; and prevent the lake from damaging the country. This lake also is very shallow.

Between the *Takht* is *Salwa* 800 feet high; and the fort on *Hari Parbat* (350 feet) distant somewhat more than two miles apart, the city lies on the edge of this lake, which is extended to the foot of the mountains.

As to the question of the valley having been drained, I am unwilling to hazard a decided opinion till I have talked over the matter with some experienced geologist. My impression is however that it has been, from a height of about 200 feet above the level of *Baramula*. I conceive that the soil and huge rounded granitic boulders overhanging the bed of the *Jelum* in the *Baramula* pass, were formed before the river had found its way out of the valley, and that it has gradually worn its course over and through them. At *Ourí* one long day from *Baramula*, there is a rocky barrier drawn across the pass now divided by the river, which must from its height, at least I think so, have kept the bottom of the valley flooded for ages. Subsequently there must have been a noble cataract there and at present *Ourl* is a sort of Kash-

mírian Thermopylæ in its way, which a good engineer and a very inferior force could soon render almost impregnable.

There are many such smaller valleys running from *Kashmír*, but *Báramula* happens to be the lowest, and the river of course chose that for its outlet.

The *Cosa Nagh* is a large lake lying in the gorges of the *Pir Pan-jal* several miles in length; but I have not yet visited it though I much wish to do so, and have been to the neighbourhood on purpose. Its surface is not far below the limit of the forest.

The *Gangá* is a lake a good long day's journey up the mountain of *Haraunk*. To this water the Hindus make their pilgrimages with the bones of their relations. *Hakritsir*, *Pamritsir*, and others are all connected with each other and with the river by canals artificial or natural.

*Mahés Bal* is a very pretty lake half way between the city and the *Wuler*; it is said to be much deeper than the others. *Verney* is the largest spring. *Loka Nagh* is said to be the finest water. There are nine sulphur springs, one chalybeate, two or three warm springs that I found in the pergunnah of *Lolab*, (the most retired spot conceivable, being a valley within a valley at the west end of *Kashmír*) and one that ebbs and flows, in this month only, at the east end. Also two iron and one lead mine worked only for the supply of *Kashmír*.

*Gul nang*, which I have just visited is a verdant plain 2,000 feet above the valley; nothing was wanting but a herd of deer to make it resemble an English park.

*Baba Pamrishi*; the *Zeárat* at its foot is the only Mussulman convent I know of. There are no women in the village: 200 or 300 is the number of the community with a *Pir* or Father at their head. They have lands of their own and are very hospitable. I was awakened here by a severe shock of an earthquake that made the house vibrate.

CHIRAR or SHAH NUR-UD-DIN left his name to the most holy *Zeárat* in the valley because the holy man was a Kashmírian by birth.

There are not less than 40 Hindu temples in the country of *Kashmír* and 30 in the city, usually in ruins of large stones. The largest is the *Pándau Khorou* at *Máthan* near *Islámábád*, built by the brothers *Pándau* in their wanderings, a magnificent ruin formerly much higher than at present. It has, and most of them had, a colonnade around them: the capitals are of this shape, (see fig. 1. Pl. XXXVII.) the shaft not long enough for its size; usually the centre building of this shape, (see fig. 2. Pl. XXXVII.) but none are now perfect; there is one

standing near the city, very curious, being built in the water with ornaments of the *kawal* flower (lotus). Inscriptions are few: I have found but one which I enclose\*. I have traversed *Kashmír* with WILSON's treatise, and gone over the names with the most learned pandits there, but could not get much information from them beyond the identity of many names and places which was very interesting. A great part of the wall that lines the river in the city, is built (for a mile and a half) of stones taken from Hindu ruins: some of them are of immense size. One at *Mathan* and another at *Patan* is of 9 feet in length and of proportionate width and depth. The figures in relief are usually of *Kheobuwani* the Kashmerian name of *Párbati*. Their temples, with the exception of one in the *Báramula Pass*, which is of white granite cut from some vast blocks that have rolled down near it, (the blocks themselves being also chiselled by way of ornament,) are all of a bluish gray secondary limestone, so soft and fine as to resemble almost Roman *travertino*. I have never been able to find out the exact spot whence any of these have been cut.

I have not been fortunate enough to find any fossil remains in the valley between the *Pooneh* and *Bunker*; in the sandstone cliff I found the end of a huge thigh-bone, (a fossil,) now in Captain WADE's possession. I also discovered a bed of coal near *Rájawer*. The old Sanskrit *Kashmíri* name of the town of *Bij Bearí* is *Vijaya Shur*, as I am told.

The river in the city is about 80 yards in width and runs rapidly there only. It is crossed by six bridges of stones and *deodúr* trunks. The *Shakar ghar* is a miserable looking place. *Hari parbat* (on which the fort stands), commands the city and could be very strongly fortified. The inhabitants of *Kashmír* are about 180,000 in number. Four seer of rice is bought for one anna in consequence; the thinned population is the cause of this cheapness. *Kashmír* is liable to two destructive visitations, one by snow falling on the mountains in September which chills the air and damages the rice in flower; the other by the overflowing of the river which could be prevented if the dams were restored with the same solidity that they could boast of in the time of the *Chyattar*. A lakh and a half worth of damage was done last year by the floods. It is not the maharája's fault but of those under him. He told me that he had allowed two lakhs of rupees to be laid out on the *Shakar ghar*. I am quite sure that 2000 rupees would be nearer the mark; the rest has been appropriated by the different governors. An unfortunate Zemindar who sows 51 *Kawah*

\* See Plate XXXVI. fig. 6.



of rice, and reaps 5,500 per cent. has to give two-fifths to the maharāja; but there are 6 or 7 official harpies in the district who reduce his share to one-fifth.

The climate of *Kashmír* is excellent except in the rice fields in the hot weather. It has much altered within a few years. At *Sháhbad* there used to be ten yards depth of snow; now two or three only. The thermometer now at noon stands about the summer heat of England: toward the end of July it will rise to 95, but after that the weather soon gets cooler.

There are different kinds of rice but none very good. The saffron grounds extend for six or seven miles from *Samprí* to *Wintipur* nearly. A proportion is carried to *Yarkand*. Its price in *Kashmír* is twenty rupees a seer. Wheat returns 4,000 per cent., barley 2,500, &c. It is used for no purpose but cookery, and the Hindu sectarial mark.

*Ganhar*, the *bátú* of the hills is grown but is not much used for bread. Of *salgam* or turnips, there are two crops in the year; but of nothing else. Farming is not good: the harrow is unknown, the clods are broken with a kind of mallet. Of 100 persons, eighty eat oil (instead of ghee) of rape, walnut and *kanjíd*, or sesame and linseed, of which there is a great deal grown only for its oil. No cultivated indigo; poppies are sown for their seed, which is eaten: but they produce no opium.

The villages in *Kashmír* have been the very picture of all that is snug and rural, united. There is invariably a clear rattling stream: (well water is unknown, and what there is, is generally brackish;) two or more huge *chinárs* and a proportion of flowers and fruit-trees. The *chinár* grows from seed but does not attain its gigantic size unless transplanted. "The palms of *Báramula*" exist but in the poets' imagination; there are none in the valley, nor mangoes, nor orange trees. Those places on which the rays of the morning sun first break are well covered with *jangal*; the whole of the south side of the valley for instance; while the north side, which from the height of the mountain range is kept a long time in shadow, is comparatively destitute of trees, but plentifully covered with grass. The same remark applies to the fruit, which is much better on the south side. Snakes likewise are unknown, I am told, except on those parts that are shone upon by the evening sun. There are fire-places and chimneys in most of the better houses, which are of two, three, or four stories of brick and wood, with pointed roofs and open gable ends; the windows of very elegant lattice work, papered in cold weather. The birch bark is spread over a frame work of poplar stems; on this

is strewed a fine cake of earth with grass seed ; and the rain cannot penetrate.

The shawl *dukáns* or looms in all *Kashmír* are in number about 3,000 or a few more. Two or three men are employed at each. A large and rich pair of shawls (2,500 rupees) occupies fifteen men for eight months. The wool is brought first from *Jautan* or *Chautan*, thence to *Rudák*, fifteen days ; thence to *Ladák* fifteen more : it is carried on the back of mountain sheep. Poor HENDERSON would have told you more of this had he lived. His enterprize led him without any comforts about him to the foot of the *Karakharam* mountains, and he is the first European who has ascertained the course of the Indus, from a distance of eight days' march to the north of *Ladák*. I have no time here to relate the processes it undergoes, beyond that the thread when dyed is dipped in rice water to strengthen it for the weaver. It then becomes necessary to *soften the shawl*. This is done at one particular spot near the city. The shawls are washed with bruised *kritz*, the root of a parasitical plant. Soap is only added for the white shawls. I have sent specimens of this root and of the soil at the washing place to Mr. EDGEWORTH of *Amballa*.

The shawls altogether have never been better than at present, in the time of the *Patans* : and SHAH TIMUR himself has told me that a fine shawl would pass through a finger ring ; but he spoke of those that were neither worked nor colored. Now the patterns are constantly changing, and the shawls are very rich and massy. I inspected their colours, of which they have forty shades. But lac and cochineal has been known only for thirty years, and I was much amused and surprized by finding that the dyer extracted a fine green from English sixpenny green baize, and that green and fine blues were much wanted. My informant almost went on his knees to me for some prussian blue ! They will make the *pashmína* to any pattern or of any material you choose, otherwise silk is very little worked.

A word on the natural history of the valley. I have seen but six or seven different kinds of fish. Bears are numerous and very large. Musk-deer plentiful in the southern forests. The *Chikor* or red-legged Himálayan partridges plentiful near the hills ; but as a sportsman I can hardly believe my eyes and ears when asserting that I have never seen a hare in any part of *Kashmír*, although the ground is the most likely imaginable. I do not say there are none ; but every one tells me so. I saw yesterday in the jangal a young woodcock.—I am sure of it. None of the foxes of this place have the black or grey mark\*. . . . . Wild ducks are in immense numbers in the winter ; they

\* This part of the MS. is so completely effaced by wet on the road that it is

come from *Yarkand*. Six kinds of snakes, one kind only poisonous. I do not think it is the *cobra*, but have not seen it. Four kinds of water-shells, one very large snail. The butterflies, about fifty varieties, I am told, confine themselves to the hills chiefly.

I must not forget the burning ground in *Kamráj* the west end of the valley, one beautiful confusion of orchards and fig trees. In the space of an acre the ground is burned (calcined) in three places; no flame is visible, neither any smell. The pandits assemble and cook rice in the heat, and this phenomenon occurs every fourteen or fifteen years on an average; height 7,800 feet.

I believe the whole slope of mountains rising from the valley is of schist and secondary limestone up to the height of 12,000 feet. Above that I imagine that the rock will be found to be of granite; I cannot judge so well of the *Pir Panjal* which I have not examined, as of the mountains of equal and greater height on the north of *Kashmír*. *Deosí* for instance is one mass of white granite. Gypsum and slate are found at *Báramula*.

I have made a good collection of plants and flowers which I have forwarded to Mr. EDGEWORTH. I have seen the "*prangus*" plant. The foot-rot in sheep is cured by an infusion of peach leaves. Walnuts and honey are eaten together and not so bad a mixture either. Slips of yew bark are used instead of tea, and the decoction is drunk as freely. The *Bultís* of *Ladák* carry a great deal of yew from *Kashmír* for this purpose. Roses of every color are seen in full bloom everywhere. The burial grounds are invariably covered with the iris of three or four different colors. It is always planted on a new tomb in the idea that it prevents the access of water.

As to coins I am sure there are very few in *Kashmír*; I have searched every where and gone from shop to shop myself: many copper coins came in my way, none good with the exception of two or three, one of which I send.

#### *Eskado or Iskardo.*

The "*Khars*" or valleys about *Simla* and *Missouri* give no idea of the face of these countries. Instead of the long slope divided from another by what may be called, comparatively with their extent, a ditch, we have a vast surface of table-land bare and studded with peaks, and at its extremity, as at *Iskardo*, a deep rocky punch-bowl.—*Gureiss*, the *Urasa* of *WILSON*, three days' march from *Kashmír* is a valley of this description; next comes the table-land of *Deosa*, and then *Iskardo* one degree to the north of *Kashmír*. The streams produce gold, but impossible to make it out. We are therefore compelled to omit some further zoological notes.—ED.

the natural verdure of these countries has all flown to *Kashmír*. *Iskardo*, resembling *Gibraltar* more than any place I ever saw, somewhat higher, if I remember rightly, with one mural side and the others nearly inaccessible, washed moreover on two sides by the *Attok*, could not but tempt me to believe it to be the rock of *Aornos*, particularly as the time mentioned for the march thence to *Attok* (fifteen days) did not tend to weaken my opinion, to which the account of *QUINTUS CURTIUS* is favorable. But *ARRIAN*, whom I have since seen, says nothing of its being washed by the *Indus*, and I give up for the present my idea of its identity. One kind of defence is a large long log, or axle between two wheels, which is rolled down upon the besiegers.

In the *Nádir-námeh* you will find (I forget the story exactly), that *NA'DIR*'s Lieutenant after taking *Bajoun* (*Bagira*) pursued the people of the country, who had all taken refuge in the mountains of *Tera* so high that "the bird of opinion or idea cannot fly to the top:" he sat below it for several days with 3,000 horse, but could not take it. Its river deep and rapid, as I understand, joins the *Attok* somewhere near *Deo-bund*. *Tera*, or *Dyr*, or *Tyr* is eleven days up this river. Thence to *Attok* two days are quite sufficient. There is "*Bisseárúbad*" on the rock and water. *Every thing* seems to point to this as *Aornos*. The river by the information which *QUINTUS CURTIUS* received might easily be taken for the real *Indus* and the only remaining hearsay evidence which I wish for, is the fact of there being sufficient timber on its banks for *ALEXANDER* to construct a raft. *Aornos* seems to have been the name usually given by the Greeks to any inaccessible rocks. It could hardly, from the spelling, be a corruption from *ακρο κεραυνος* (?) though from the sound it might well be so. But I shall see my friend *AHMED SHA'H* again in a few days I hope, and he will give me every assistance; not being in the worse spirits for an apprehended invasion on the part of the Sikh Colonel here, and *rāja GULÁ'B SINGH* on the other side having been just checked by the order of the mahárāja at the instigation of Captain *WADE*. He well deserved this interference. I hope also, and in reason, to reach the leftmost source of the *Indus*. The game of *Choughan* mentioned by *BABER* is still played everywhere in *Tibet*; it is nothing but "hockey" on horseback and is excellent fun. The *Yák* is not found in the vale of *Iskardo*, a partridge as large as a hen-turkey, the *kubk derri* of *Persia*, I believe, is found in the mountains of *Tibet*.

*Lohánis*, &c. mentioned by *BABER*.

Those who wish to march through the *Sulimání* mountains with the *Lohánis* should not be later than the 1st of May at *Derabuna* near *Dera*



*Ismiel Khán.* After a very harassing fortnight's march, no sleep in the day from the heat, no sleep at night from the firing and hallooing of the guards, half killed by the weather and poisoned by the bad water procurable only by scraping away the earth, I arrived at *Ghazni*. The greatest height of this mountain pass is nearly 8,000 feet, but the ascent very gradual. The snowy mountains near *Ghazni* come in sight at the top of this hill. *Khorásán* ! was the cry amongst the *Lohánis* men, women, and children ; they call it *Khorásán* directly these ranges are passed. A consul at *Mittencote* with liberty to trade is, as Mr. Masson says, all that is necessary to entice the trade up the *Indus*. The *Vizeri* mountaineers are a hardy and desperate set without a chief with whom could be made an agreement. For days there is nothing but the barren mountain, with here and there a melancholy looking *Loháni* burying-place, studded with the horns of the *Moufson*, the *Ibex*, and the *Markhun* : hardly a blade of grass is seen and no dwelling. Bloody feuds are constant. These mountains, on the confines of the range at least, are one mass of hardened shingle. The first day's halt the ground is covered with small sea-shells in remnants, and on the third or fourth there was a very fine looking marl and sand cliff in which shells were found, but the heat was so intense I could not visit it.

*Ghazni* is in a fine situation at the end of a gypsum hill ; its mud towers are just numerous enough to be in the way of each other but it cannot be made very strong, as it is commanded. The minars of *MAHMUD* are beautiful specimens of brickwork with cufic inscriptions ; about 140 feet high (from memory). The *Rozeh-i-sultan* or *MAHMUD*'s tomb is in shape a triangular prism of gypsum with cufic inscriptions. The sandal-wood gates are now scentless and the carving defaced by age. I went out of the regular road to *Kábul* with a servant of the *Nawáb JABÁR KHÁN* as cicerone. The whole country seems full of copper and iron ; lapis lazuli is not rare. I shall never forget the change from India to "*Khorásán*:" it was Persia all over, the cool air perfumed with thyme and gumcestus, long *kanáts* or covered water-ways, the mud castles, the large pigeon grouse, the mulberry trees, and walled gardens, the willow, the *sanjíd* and the English magpie, contrasted to give the country a very different aspect from that of the *Panjáb* side of the mountains.

*Ghazni* is very high, 7,000 feet. The snow reaches to *Simlabora* about one-third of the way from *Ghazni* to the *Panjáb*. The country is irrigated chiefly from the *Band i sultán*, a large dam built by *MAHMUD* at the top of the plain. It is a noble work but I was rather disappointed after all I had heard of it. It would be very desirable if the

mountains in the direct line from *Ghazni* to the *Panjib* could be explored. From all I have heard the passes are very open. A great deal of iron is manufactured in those districts, particularly at *Karegram* or *Kanegoram*.

*Kábul* is colder all the year round than *Kashmír*; its latitude is a little more northerly. An irregular circle of mountains, twenty miles in diameter, with numerous passes surrounds an irrigated plain: across this plain runs another chain 500 to 1,500 feet in height: *Kábul* is built near a gap in this chain. The hills are universally barren and of primitive rock generally. Those at *Kábul* are all of gneiss. There is not at a little distance one blade of grass apparent upon them. The *nuwash* grows, and the "*asal sú*" or liquorice is found upon them. Its gardens are crammed with delicious fruits, but the very commonest flowers are entirely artificial.

I was much disappointed in the country; there is not literally one single tree that has not been planted. But altogether its appearance is rich and beautiful. The city is universally of mud and sun-dried brick. In 60 years there would hardly be a vestige of *Kábul* if the inhabitants left. The *Bala Hissar* of rough hewn stone, a few wells, and the elegant mosque of white marble at *BABER's* tomb are exceptions.

The *Kohistán*, as it is called, under the *Hindu Kosh*, 30 miles from *Kábul*, affords an exquisite landscape.

The "*Reg rewan*," or running sand of *BABER* (as is in fact every thing he notices, as in his day) is there visible at a great distance, but there was no approaching it, such was the lawless state of the country. *MUHAMAD AKBER KHA'N*, the *Amír's* son, has since reduced them to subjection. It was tantalizing to look at a district so fair in aspect, rich in ruins, coins and antiquities, as I believe it to be, and not to be able to explore it. The plain of *Beghrám* was close on our right: *MR. MASSON* was with me. The circumference is not less than 15 or 20 miles.

The copper coins are very numerous; I have a large bagful:—two, one of gold and another of silver (a *Bactrian*)—new. The meritorious researches of *MR. MASSON* have opened a mine of antiquities in these countries. I may remark (but with deference) that I do not think *Beghrám* to have been the city founded by *ALEXANDER* on this side of the *Paropamisus*. I have had no library to consult, but I do not think that he passed into *Turkestan* by this road over the *Hindu Kosh* although he most likely returned by it. There must have been a town there, or in the neighbourhood as long as there was a pass and people to cross over it. *ARRIAN's* account is very unconnected and compels us to

resort to minor authorities. By what he alone says there is no reason to infer that ALEXANDER came as far eastward even as *Kandahar*. He says he founded a city at the foot of the *Paropamisus*,—an isolated fact; but by the rest of his narrative we should conclude that he went straight from *Mazendarán* to *Bactria*, keeping to the north. But as the nature of the country is not favorable for the march of an army, he probably passed to *Herát*, and founded his city at the foot of the *Házarájât*, and crossed from that neighbourhood into *Bactria*, perhaps retracing his steps a little. I do not think he came to *Kábul*. From the foot of the pass over the Kosh, an open plain extends due east by which he could avoid all the defiles of *Kábul*, and from the accounts of his subsequent operations, I think it may be fairly inferred that he took this route. *Bámián* I am very sorry to say I could not visit. The country was almost in a state of rebellion, and the good Nawáb JABAR KHÁN would not hear of it. RUSTAN's well, into which he was thrown after being murdered, is about fourteen miles from *Kábul*. I may remark in favor of DOST MAHOMED, that in SHÁH JEHAN's time a person could not go ten miles from the city without risk of robbery. The roads are now every where comparatively safe.

There is a cataract on the *Kábul* river about twenty miles from the city in the mountains that prevents water communication from *Kábul* itself to the sea.

The *Hazarehs* are an interesting people resembling the *Gurkhas* in feature but larger in person. They will ride their horses at speed down very steep declivities, are regular mountaineers in their habits, have a *Yodeln* like the Swiss. Amongst other animals which inhabit the mountains is the *Markhar* or snake-eater, which has never I believe been described. It is a huge wild goat as large as a large pony with an immense whitish beard and straight spiral horns, four feet long nearly. I have two pair of these horns. I have a drawing of a large male that was sent in to me by the young Amir MAHAMMED AKBER KHÁN.

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VII.—Account of an Inscription found by Mr. H. S. BOULDERSON, in the neighbourhood of Bareilly. By JAMES PRINSEP, Sec., &c.

To their associate Colonel STACY the Society is more immediately indebted for bringing to their notice the subject of the present article, an inscription hitherto undescribed though it appears to have been known for several years to Mr. H. S. BOULDERSON, of the Civil Service. Having applied to that gentleman for any notes he might possess on its discovery, he has favored me with the following particulars.

“The inscription which Colonel STACY has sent you was taken in 1829 or 1830 from a stone dug up near a village called *Illahabas*, about 15 miles N. E. from *Beesulpoor* (*Visulapur*) in the *Bareilly* district. It was found with some images in the year 1826 or 1827, in land forming a ridge (about from 15 to 30 feet elevation) above the level of the plain. The ridge commences from the hills N. and E. of *Pillibheet*, runs down the eastern border of the *Bareilly* district, and is continued I believe to near the banks of the *Sardah* or *Gogra* river, in the *Sháhjehánpur* district. This ridge is covered with forest and brushwood, and extends eastward perhaps to near the *Sardah*. This tract is I believe nearly if not quite uninhabited; want of water is I think the cause. All about the part where the stone was found there are remnants of large bricks, of the kind found by Captain CAUTLEY at *Behat* on the canal in the *Seháranpúr* district. I do not recollect any ruins, either of an old or more modern description at all near the place. *Illahabas* and the other villages for miles are mostly ‘*nowabad*’ or new settled villages; they are all in the lowland, beneath the ridge. *Beesulpoor* itself is a town of modern date, still mostly chopper and mud. The images were set up by some brahmins in a temple built for the purpose at *Illahabas*, and being novelties for some time attracted considerable offerings; about 2,000 rupees were the produce of one year. This occasioned a claim in the shape of a boundary dispute touching the land on which the temple was built. I had to settle it, and then had the copy of the inscription taken: no one there could read it. The stone from which it was taken was either built in over the doorway of the temple, or was standing by the door; I do not recollect which. Of the images I either took no notice or do not now remember any thing. The copy of the inscription was laid by and forgotten, till Colonel STACY talking about inscriptions I looked out for it and gave it him. The people about the place said that there had been in former times a large city or town there. The bricks, &c. might have created the tradition. The forest now covers the place. There are no remains of ruins new or old from which the stone could have been taken throughout the *pergunnah* for miles round. The soil of the ridge and that of the land below it are remarkably distinct.”

Colonel STACY’s pandit has furnished a modern version of the inscription, but, on comparing it, so many deviations were found that I preferred going through the whole with KAMALA’KANTA pandit, and I may safely say that the transcript now given is hardly doubtful in a single letter; it is no small compliment to Mr. BOULDERSON’s transcriber that in but one place is a letter omitted, and in one only a letter in excess added.



दलदुसुगपी डारुवमदचलो अंगससुडरुशु  
 अरतिर्यएलितमडिरुणामएलेअरिगऊरनकालीअ  
 अलोकत्रितयकृतमदास्रोत्रमभुवताः पायाद्वः पा  
 धनशिः शमितदशशिः शोयवीर्यावलेपः पशुलकृत  
 द्वाइदयारुवकुंरुमुक्तामुक्तायकलितामलकलु  
 कांतिः रविधूयुकातुशिरिजावदगावकुतचक्रोयगी  
 तपरिवेसमिवोदूदशीरालझीविरुमकेलिसझसुरु

Alphabet of the KUTILA Character.

का	ख	ग	घ	च	क	ख	लु	ज	ट	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न	प	फ	ब	रु	म	या	ल	व	श	ष	स	द	ऊ
ka	kh	g	gh	ch	chh	j	jh	ny	t	th	d	dh	n	t	th	d	dh	m	p	ph	b	bh	m	y	l	v	sh	shh	s	du
																		सु	आ	उ	ः	ए	!	ॐ						
																		su	aa	u	:	e	!	om						

Thencep lth.



KAMALA'KA'NTA asserts that the language and poetry of this inscription is superior to any thing he has yet seen of the sort. This is partially visible in the translation, where, although to our taste hyperbole superabounds, the elegance and applicability of the eulogistic metaphors is very perceptible. This translation is again the work of my youthful assistant SA'RODA'PRASA'D CHAKRAVARTTI', merely idiomatized a little by myself: it is nearly literal throughout.

The facts made known to us by the text are altogether new. We have heard neither of the *Chhindu* race, nor of RÁJA LALLA. He was it seems the son of MALHANA the younger brother, (*chargé d'affaires*, and probably an usurper,) of *Mānschāṇḍa prātāpa*, written मयण्ड प्रताप, a name which the pandit insists upon converting to MA'RTANDA PRATA'PA (powerful as the sun), as more consonant with Hindu nomenclature. MA'NSCHANDA's father was VIRAVARMA who is simply stated to be of the race of CHYAVAN, a *mahārishi* of mythologic fame, who captivated and married the daughter of one RÁJA SARJATI; but as she disapproved of his venerable age, he interceded with ASWINIKUMAR, dipped himself in a pond and was rejuvenilized in the shape of that god. On the celebration of his nuptials, the gods being present, INDRA, astonished at his new disguise levelled his thunder at the *muni*, who then petrified the god with his frown, as is stated in the text.

The temples thus appear to have been built by a petty RÁJA and his wife, in the Samvat year 1049 at a village called *Mayuta* in the district of *Bhusana*. Enjoying the advantage of proximity to *Canouj*, they procured good poets and artists to sing and record their praises.

This is the first time I have remarked the name of the alphabetical character mentioned. It is called the *Kutila*, by which denomination we must in future describe all documents written in the same hand, mid-way between the modern Deva-nágari and the *Gauri* type. I have given a specimen and the alphabet in Plate XLI. It is a peculiarity that the vowels or diphthongs *ai* and *ao*, are always written like *é* and *o* with a single mark above the line. The long *i* *ú* and *ai*, initial, do not occur.

*Transcript in modern Deva-nágari.*

हेलदुष्टोगपीडाभरनमदचलोत्सङ्गसंभारदूरभ्रश्यद्भूभारतिर्यग्दलि  
तमणिफणामण्डले भोगिराजे तत्कालोद्भूतलोकत्रितयकृतम हास्तोचम  
न्नावतारः पायाद्वः पापराशेः शमितदशशिरः शौर्यं वीर्यंवल्लेपः ॥ १ ॥

शूलक्षतद्विरददानवकुम्भमुक्तमुक्ताकलापकलितमलकगुहकान्तः विश्वं  
पुनातु गिरिजा वदनारविन्दे चन्द्रोपनीतपरिवेशमिवोदहन्ती ॥ २ ॥

लक्ष्मीविभ्रमकेलिसद्मसुभट्यापारलीलास्पदं प्रख्यातक्षितिपालनन्द  
जलधिः श्रोराजहंसीसरः सद्योरव्रततीर्णसर्वकुमुदप्रह्लादनेन्दुर्द्विषदंश  
भंशदवानलो विजयतां किन्दुक्षितीशान्वयः ॥ ३ ॥

उत्पत्तिरस्यहि पुरा चवनान्महर्षेर्यत्तव्यलीककलिते त्रिदशधिनाथे  
तदर्पनिर्दलनदत्तकठोरदृष्टेरष्टासु दिक्षु यशसैव सहप्रसिद्धात् ॥ ४ ॥

वंशेशस्मिन् सितकीर्तिकन्दलवति श्रीवीरवर्माख्यया ख्यातोभूद्वि  
भूषितावनितलो राजन्यचूडामणिः जन्मस्थानमिवाकलय्य कमला तुङ्गा  
त्मनांभाविनां भर्तृणामवने प्रकारचतुरा यस्यालयान्तःस्थिता ॥ ५ ॥

त्यागी धर्मपरः पराक्रमधनः सत्यप्रियः कीर्तिमान् सत्सभ्यानुगतः  
शुचिर्दृढमतिर्मानान्वितो नीतिमान् शौर्योदार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयो यः  
सङ्गतः सज्जनैर्युक्तः सर्वगुणोदयेन महता सौरावनीपोभवत् ॥ ६ ॥

तस्मादत्युग्रतेजःप्रसरनियमितारातिपङ्कोपसङ्गः श्रीमार्त्तण्डप्रतापः  
सकलवसुमतीभूषणं भूषणोभूत् यस्योद्योगप्रसर्पद्भलभरदलितक्ष्मात  
लस्यास्त्रुवोरः शेषेनिश्वासशेषादगमदरिनतं निर्जनं भोगिसद्म ॥ ७ ॥

यत्सैन्यगन्धगजगण्डगलन्मदाम्बुसंजातचन्द्रकशैतैरिव मुद्रितासु दूरे  
विपक्षकरिणोवनदन्तिनापि भूयो नवारिजगृधुः सरसीश्वरख्ये ॥ ८ ॥

यः सेवा गतराजचक्रमुकुटोदृष्टाङ्घ्रिपीठस्थलो भर्तायश्चतुरंबुरा  
शिरश्चनालङ्कारवत्या भुवः विक्षेपैरिव यस्य तै रघुपतेराशेषिताः  
सिन्धवो यस्तस्यापि महाकुलाचल इवावष्टभ्य तस्थौ भुवं ॥ ९ ॥

यस्यैषा राजधानी रजनिकरकराकारकान्तैर्गुणैः पूरराज्ञापिरम्या  
सुरुचिमरकतश्यामलैः कान्तकान्तैः उद्यानैर्नन्दनाभैरतिविशद सुरासे  
कशुभ्रैः सुराणां प्रासादैरुन्नताग्रैरमरपतिपुरीस्पर्द्धिनी वा विभाति ॥ १० ॥

तस्यानुजः समभवद्भवभक्तिनमः श्रीमल्लणः परिघपीवरबाहुदण्डः  
भ्रातुः क्षपानुतुलिताक्षितराजचक्रं योलीलयैवमवनेर्धुरमाबभार ॥ ११ ॥

लब्ध्वा ततः सुविपुलामपि राजलक्ष्मीं भक्तिं परामहत्तदेवगुरुद्विजेषु  
प्रीत्यै सहस्रत्रययिबन्धुजने जनिष्ठदुष्टक्षयादतनुतातिमुदम्प्रजासु ॥ १२ ॥



तस्य प्रिया पिचुलुकीश्वरराजवंशसम्भृतिरुज्ज्वलगुणाभरणाभिरामा  
गीताजगत्यमहिलेति समस्तकान्त शुद्धान्तवक्त्रकमलेन्दुकला बभूव ॥ १३ ॥

तस्यां श्रीलक्ष्मनामाजनि जनितमहामण्डलीशः प्रशाङ्कः शूरः कुन्देन्दु  
दन्तद्युतितुलितगुणालंकृताशामुखश्रीः योसौसामन्तचक्राचलकनकगिरि  
र्विद्रुतारातिलक्ष्मी तिर्यगोत्रान्तपातादृतभुजशिखरश्चिन्दुवंशप्ररोहः ॥

चित्रं यदस्य किल जन्मदिने समन्तात् श्रीमण्डणस्य भवने परम  
प्रमोदात् प्रावेदयन्त्युदयमंबरतः पपात भङ्गालिमङ्गलरवैरिव पुष्पवृष्टिः ।

नोन्निद्रा नलिनी न चार्पितमनः स्निग्धा सतां सङ्कतिर्नोत्पल्लस्तव  
का नता वनलता सीमासंस्थानवा नोद्दामाकविभारती न च तथा  
हृद्या शरत्कौमुदीलक्ष्मीर्यस्य यथा च वेदविदुषामास्येन्दुनिस्त्यन्दिनी ॥ १६ ॥

कैर्वावैरपरैर्धराधिपतिभिर्मनैर्धरा रक्षिता येष्टान्तिष्ठतिदुधरा  
च वनिता श्रीरन्यभोग्या गृहे नाभूदस्ति न नापि कोपि भविता  
भूपालचूडामणि र्यः श्रीलक्ष्मनरेन्द्रचन्द्र सदृशस्यागेन भोगेन च ॥ १७ ॥

व्यास्ते सङ्करसङ्गताहितमहामातङ्गकुम्भस्थलीसिन्दूराण्यकान्तिरुज्ज्व  
लयशस्तेजोभिरिद्वस्तुतः उत्खातारितमाः प्रतापविसरैराक्रान्तिदिग्गज  
लस्तिग्मांशैस्तुलनां विभर्त्ति भुवने यन्मण्डलोग्रतुना ॥ १८ ॥

कण्ठे मुक्तायमाना शिरसि हिमगिरेरूर्ध्वं गङ्गायमाना व्योम्निज्योत्स्ना  
यमाना दिशि दिशि करिणां कुम्भमालायमाना उच्चैर्देवालयानामुपरि  
सितपताकायमाना यदीया कीर्त्तिर्भ्रान्ता समन्तादनुदिपुलिने राज  
हंसायमाना ॥ १९ ॥

कथं काले कलावप्यभिभवति जगत् कूपवापीतडागैरासन्नाराम  
सत्तैः सुरसदनमठैर्म्मण्डितायाममुष्याम् भूष्यां मूर्द्धावहन्त्यामतिसुजन  
जनानन्दितायां नगर्यां यस्मिन्धर्मावतारे प्रकृत कृतयुगारम्भसम्भावना  
भूत् ॥ २० ॥

यः शासनान्यतिसमृद्धजनान्वितानि सीमांतसम्भवज्जलानि ददौ  
द्विजेभ्यः पार्श्वस्यशस्ततुषण्डमनोहराणि पुण्यानि निर्मलनदीतट  
वासभांजि ॥ २१ ॥

गङ्गाभगीरथेनेव येन मार्गापदर्शना स्वपुरीसन्निधौ रम्या पुण्या कठ  
नदी कृता ॥ २२ ॥

तस्याभवत्प्रणयिनी मधुसूदनस्य लक्ष्मीरिवामलकुलांबुनिधेः प्रसूता  
सर्वावरोधनवधूमखपद्मघण्डप्रालेयवृष्टिरपराहि च यापिलक्ष्मीः ॥ २३ ॥

भक्त्याच या विनयनम्रतया च पत्युश्चेतोजहार गुणवत्यनुरागिणी च  
रम्यं हराद्रिसुतयोरिवतत्तथाहि प्रेमापिरूढमनयोरितरेतरस्थं ॥ २४ ॥

आरामोद्यानवापीषुचत्वरायतनेषु च कृतानि क्रियमाणानि यस्याः  
कर्माणि सर्वदा ॥ २५ ॥

दीनानाथ विपन्नेषु करुणान्वितचेतसः सर्वेषु भुञ्जते यस्याविप्रसङ्गा  
दिने दिने ॥ २६ ॥

इत्थं विविक्तमनसोः परिवर्द्धमानधर्मप्रबन्धविगलत्कलिकाल वृत्त्योः  
एकस्तयोरमुमकारयदिंदुमौलेः प्रासादमद्रितनयाभवनं तथान्या ॥ २७ ॥

सुरगृहयुगमेतत् तुङ्गकैलासशृङ्गद्वितयतुलितकान्तिश्वेतमुच्चैः सुपा  
द्भिःवितरति हृदि नांतर्विस्मयं कस्यवा तत्प्रहतघनपताकाकम्पितांभो  
दवृन्दम् ॥ २८ ॥

यावत्सकौस्तुभमुरोमुरमर्दकस्य शम्भोः शशाङ्कशकलाभरणं शिरश्च  
यावत्स्वरिन्दुवनितासहिताः समस्तास्ता देवतास्तदचला भुवि कीर्त्ति  
रेषा ॥ २९ ॥

स जयतु भुवि लल्लुञ्जिन्दु वंशप्रवीरः सममतिगुणवत्याकान्तया चेह  
लक्ष्म्या रिपुगजमदपंकज्जाविताग्रेण येन प्रतिरणमसिनैवालेखि दिक्षु  
प्रशस्तिः ॥ ३० ॥

भूत्यै सदैव भवने जनसन्निधाना नानाविधानि दुरितानि विनाश  
यन्ती यापत्यदारपरिवर्गसुहृद्गणस्य श्रीलल्लमण्डलपतेरनघास्तुदेवी ॥ ३१ ॥

भूषणस्य मयूतायां संबद्धभूमिरुत्तमा विधाय देवप्रक्षीति देवयोः  
प्रतिपाकिता ॥ ३२ ॥

पूजासंस्कारहेतोश्च शिवयोः शासनीकृतः दामदायस्य पादोपि  
श्रीलल्लेन सुकीर्त्तिना ॥ ३३ ॥

प्रख्यातवस्तुमुनिवंशसमुद्भवोभूदङ्गानुरूपचरितःशिवरुद्र नामा तत्सूनु  
ना विरचिताभिनवा प्रशस्तिरेषा प्रसन्नकविना किलनेहिलेन ॥ ३४ ॥

यस्य प्रसन्नसरलापदमालिकेयं प्रह्लादहेतुरधिकं सदलंछतिस्व श्रील,  
हृनिर्मलगुणग्रथनाभिरांमा मुक्तावलीव हृदये विदुषां चकास्तु ॥ ३५ ॥

विष्णुहरेस्तनयेन लिखिता गौडेन कर्णिकेनैषा कुटिलाक्षराणि विदु  
षा तत् क्षोदित्वा विधानेन ॥ ३६ ॥

कान्यकुब्जागतेनापि रामदेवसुतेन च उत्कीर्णा सोमनाथेन टङ्गवित्त  
न शालिना ॥ ३७ ॥

संवत्सरसहस्र १०४६ म मार्गर्वादि ७ गुरुदिन ४

*Translation, by Sârodâprasâd Chakravartî.*

1.\* May he, to whom the astounded inhabitants of the three worlds offered solemn hymns and prayers, when the jewelled hood of the chief of serpents (*Ananta*) bent under the weight of the far-falling mountains impinging on the lap of the yielding earth, on his easy effort to check the outrages of the wicked (giants); and who humbled the ten-headed (*Râvana*) vain of his strength and valour,—save you from a multitude of sins!

2. May GIRIJA' (the mountain-born goddess) beautifully adorned with a string of pearls fallen from the heads of the *Dânava*-like elephants, seeming to spread a moon-like halo round her lotus face, sanctify the universe.

3. May the royal race of CHÂNDU, of erst the scene of LAKSHMI'S pastime and dalliance, the field of war and exercises of well-disciplined soldiery, the sea of delight of famous princes, the lake wherein LAKSHMI' disported as a swan, the moon of repose of those who had completed the career of heroes and a consuming fire to their enemies, be honorable.

4. A *Mahârishi* named CHYAVAN, he whose frown restrained the pride of the chief of gods (*INDRA*) when he had committed the well-known crime † :—who by his fame was celebrated in all quarters of the world—was the founder of this race.

5. Of this family, famed for many good actions was born VIRAVARMA, who was the ornament of the world, and the crown-jewel of kings; in whose house LAKSHMI' took up her abode, foreseeing in it the birth-place of many future eminent persons who would be her protectors.

\* KAMALA'KA'NTA would read हेल्ला कट्टेयचापाभर, &c. 'easily taken up bow of SIVA,' &c. i. e. by the weight of the bow of SIVA, which Râma easily took up. This agrees better with the context, which alludes to the destruction of the world produced by the breaking of this bow by Râma.

† See the notice of this crime in the preliminary observations.

6. He, VIRAVARMA, in noble qualities well resembled the kings of the solar line ; he was powerful, pious, beautiful, famous, pure, serious, venerable, veracious, moral, surrounded by the educated, attended by virtuous men, his court was the seat of heroism, integrity, patience and other virtues.

7. From him descended MA'NSCHANDAPRATA'PA, a man of warm spirit, who annihilated his foes as mud dried up by his rays ; who was the ornament of all people, nay of the whole world ; before whose armies, the multitude of heroic enemies depressing the earth with their heavy tread, retreated gasping into the abode of serpents (*Pátalu*) and bore it down with their weight.

8. The juice exuding from the temples of his odorous elephants, in moon-like crystals, so spread over the forest-tanks that neither the wild elephants nor those of his enemies dare quench their thirst therein.

9. His footstool was worn by the crowns of the numerous princes crowding to do him homage. He was the lord of the earth whom the three great oceans encircle as a waistband (*rashoná*). He dried up the ocean by the continual intercourse of foreign princes, as Ráma of old. He occupied the ocean like the mountain on the sea-shore.

10. His kingdom rivalling the habitation of the chief of gods by its magnificent buildings, shining bright and beauteous as the moon-beam with its white tenements, and charming with its *nandana*-like gardens abounding in pleasant trees of dark emerald hue,—is become white with the high temples of the anointed gods.

11. His younger brother the stout-armed MALHANA, a devoted worshipper of *Siva*, willingly received charge of the world, his kingdom, filled with a multitude of princes proportionate to his kindness,—from his elder brother.

12. Though gaining such a vast prize as LAKSHMI', he always retained his devotion to the gods, his spiritual parents and the bráhmans. He was born for the joy of his friends, intimates, and kinsmen, and spread delight among his subjects by destroying the wicked.

13. His wife CHULUKI', adorned with shining qualities was the nonpareil of her day, and was like the new moon to the lotus faces of his other wives ; she was descended from the royal line of ISWARA.

14. From her was born a moon-like heroic prince named LALLA, who soon mastered the world. On all sides shone the purity of his virtues as the white kumuda flower, the moon, or ivory. He was the *Sumeru* among the circle of the mountains of his military officers. On his arm LAKSHMI' cast a fond glance as she quitted the house of his enemies. He was the root of the CHINDU line.

15. Strange was it that at his birth flowers were strewed from heaven on the palace of MALHANA, and bees swarmed to sip their honey ; seeming by their hum to announce his future greatness\*.

16. His words were full of pleasantness, exceeding far the full blown lily, or the company of the wise men, or the shrubs bowing with the load

\* So Cicero of Plato : ' dum in cunis apes in labellis consediscent.'



of full blown flowers, or the fields of bending corn, the inspiration of the poet, or the moon beam in the autumn, or even the sacred words flowing from the mouths of the *vedantis*.

17. By what respected hero, lord of the world, was earth defended in his time? the goddess (LAKSHMI') whom none other can restrain or enjoy, is to him as a wife. No princely jewel of the crown of kings ever lived, lives, or will live to equal him in bounty and enjoyment.

18. He lives in a halo of glory like the sun in his summer brightness, and fills the world with his power. His beauty is reddened by the vermilion of the heads of his enemies' war elephants; his fame like the moon's has been the theme of praise; he destroys his enemies as the rays of the sun dispel the darkness.

19. His spreading fame encircles the world as a necklace of pearls, or as *Gangā* around the highest peak of the *Himālaya*, as the moon-beam on the sky, as the wreath on the elephant's head, the white pennant on the temple of the gods, and the wild geese on the banks of the rivers.

20. On his advent, although the earth now groans under the *Kāli-yuga*, the golden age (*Satya-yuga*) again visited this town, a town adorned with wells, lakes, tanks, and neighbouring parks stocked with various animals, whose inhabitants are always rejoicing, and which is borne on the crest of the earth.

21. He presented these sacred villages, inhabited by the wealthy and the civilized, shaded by pleasant trees and watered by pellucid streams, in a chartered gift to the *brāhmins*.

22. He caused to be dug a beautiful and holy canal\* near his own palace, himself a director of the right course to his subjects, as *BHAGIRATHA* was to *GANGA*'.

23. His wife named *LAKSHMI*' was as affectionate as her namesake to *MADHUSUDANA*: she was regarded as a second goddess, descended from the sea of a sinless family, and was like a snow shower to the lily-faces of other women in the inner apartments.

24. By her love and gentleness she stole the heart of her husband, by her accomplishments she retained his affections. Their mutual love was equal to that of *SIVA* and *PA'RBATI*'.

25. Whose many virtuous deeds already done or to be still performed, are visible in groves, gardens, lakes, and many other extensive works.

26. All these luxuries enjoyed daily by multitudes of *brāhmins*, are bestowed by her whose heart compassionates the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted.

27. In this way the minds of the husband and wife being sensible of the instability of earthly possessions; and the stain of the *Kāli-yuga* having been removed by their growing virtues, the one (or *rāja*) has caused this temple to be established in honor of the god who wears a crescent in his brow; while the other (or queen) did as much in honor of *PA'RBATI*'.

\* *Kaṭhanāma*, 'called *Kaṭha*,' probably the vulgar term applied to it as an artificial canal, *Anglice* 'cut.'

28. Whose heart is not filled with astonishment at these two divine temples which may be compared with the beauty of the two lofty peaks of *Kailāsa*; which are beautified by their handsome stairs, and whose banners agitated by the winds have dispersed the gathering clouds.

29. As long as the *Kaustubha* jewel shall rest on the breast of the destroyer of *Madhu* (*VISHNU*); and the head of *SA'MBBU* shall be ornamented with the crescent:—as long as *INDRA* and all the gods shall tarry with the wives of the moon;—so long shall the fame of this act endure.

30. May prosperity always attend him and his equally endowed lady *LAKSHMI*—him, the chief hero of the *CHHINDU* line—who with sword besmeared with the mud formed by the exudation of his enemies' elephants' temples has carved out his praise on all sides.

31. May *DEVĪ*, who dwelleth among mankind to promote their prosperity and avert evil, destroy the sins of *LALLA*, of his family, children, and intimates.

32. The villages of *Mayūtā* in *Bhushana* with its adjacent lands were consecrated to the above mentioned god and goddess, under the denomination of *Devapullī*.

33. The famous *LALLA* granted by charter one-fourth of his revenues to the same deities for their worship and other ceremonies.

34. This inscription was composed by the poet *NEHA'L*, son of *SIVA RUDRA*, of the race of *VATSYAMUNI*, an attendant at the court of the *rāja*, whose character was worthy of his name.

35. May *NEHA'L*'s wreath of mellifluous verses shine on the bosom of the learned like a string of pearls, the source of general delight, ornamented with flowery metaphor and tied with the string of *LALLA*'s virtues.

36. This composition was copied by the son of *VISHNU-HARI* an inhabitant of *Gaur*, a proficient in the *Kutilā* character.

37. It was engraven by *SOMANA'THA* the son of *KA'MADEVA*, who came over from *Kanyakubja*, well skilled in the use of the instruments of engraving.

In the Samvat year 1049, on the 7th of the dark half of the month of *Mārga* (*Agrahana*), Thursday. (Corresponding with Thursday, 5th November, A. D. 992.—See Useful Tables.)

VIII.—Section of the strata passed through in an experimental boring at the town of *Gogah*, on the *Gujerat* peninsula, *Gulph* of *Cambay*. By Lieutenant *GEORGE FULLJAMES*.

Agreeably to my promise I have the pleasure to enclose a section of the strata penetrated in the bore at *Gogah*, by which you will perceive we have succeeded in reaching a considerable depth, and although the work is still progressing I have thought it better to send a section of what has already been done. I have only 28 feet of rod left, and unless I can succeed in changing the stratum before that is expended

I shall be obliged to stop. Had I but cast-iron pipes to lower I should not at all despair of success until at any rate I had reached 600 feet. From the sides of the bore falling in while the work is at rest I have been obliged for some time to employ two parties, and to keep going night and day.

I have much pleasure in mentioning that I have discovered fossil remains down the coast and in similar formation to that of *Perim*. The specimens that I have obtained however are not good ones having been for a long time exposed to the action of the sea, and atmosphere. Should I succeed in obtaining any that appear worthy of the acceptance of the Asiatic Society, I shall do myself the pleasure to forward them.

A similar formation to that of *Perim* exists along the whole line of coast from *Gogah* to *Gossnat* point, where a firm sandstone is quarried and of which the splendid *Sráwak* temples of *Pattitona* are all built.

This fact ascertained, settles the question of whether *Perim* was originally a part of the continent:—and it only remains to prove how the separation has taken place? My opinion is that it has been effected by the force of the current during the ebb tides and the swell of the sea during the south-west monsoon.

To the north-west of *Gogah* and about one mile inland I picked up a piece of the rib of some large animal. The rock had been here dug out for building. It lies nearly horizontal and not above eight inches in thickness. I am still in hopes of getting some more fossil specimens from this spot.

#### *List of Strata.*

	Ft.	In.
Rubble containing broken stones, tiles and ashes, .....	4	0
Hard earth with stones imbedded, .....	1	0
Sand and gravel mixed and salt water, .....	11	0
Stiff black clay like that on the beach, .....	6	0
Sandstone in thin seams, .....	0	4
Sand and clay, yellowish in color, .....	9	8
Sandstone soft, .....	13	6
Reddish sand holding salt water, .....	0	6
Sandstone hard, .....	2	0
Sand yellow, .....	0	4
Sandstone, .....	0	8
Gravel and clayey sand, .....	1	0
Very stiff clay with pieces of sandstone imbedded very hard, .....	4	0
Stiff blackish looking clay, .....	1	0
Sandy clay with pieces of sandstone, .....	4	0
Yellow sand with seams of clay containing a few pieces of sandstone, ..	6	0
Very hard siliceous sandstone, .....	9	0
Stiff yellow and whitish clay with kanker, .....	0	2

Stiff yellow and whitish clay with nodules of sandstone, .....	5	10
The salt water rose 4 feet in the bore and become brackish. Nodules of sandstones imbedded in sand, .....	11	0
Yellow sandy clay, .....	8	0
Yellow sandy clay with pieces of mshur, .....	16	0
Stiff black clay with pieces of sandstone containing a good deal of mica, .....	3	0
Stiff black clay but darker, .....	2	0
Stiff clay greenish in color, containing small pieces of rocks similar to cornelian, quartz, and agate, also pieces of broken shells, .....	4	0
The same clay with less stones, a strong smell of hydrogen gas came up the pipe, a quantity of pyrites was also brought up, .....	1	0
Blue clay with pyrites, and latterly a little sand between the layers of clay, .....	19	2
Blue clay with siliceous sand mixed, also pieces of rock, such as sandstone; quality, a greenish sandstone full of holes, these holes are full of clay and pyrites: indurated clay and small black particles like coal, ..	8	3
Slate from the appearance of what came up attached to the jumper, ....	1	2
Stiff blue clay, .....	14	0
Indurated clay or slate, and latterly with sand intermixed, .....	7	7
Blue sandy clay with siliceous sand separating the seams of clay, .....	6	5
The same with pyrites, .....	3	7
Sandy clay with small white pebbles, a good deal of sand appeared between the layers of clay with fragment of what appears a jet, a piece of a broken shell resembling the cockle was brought up, .....	4	0
Blue clay darker in color, .....	7	0
Blue clay with pieces of whitish earth, .....	4	5
The same sandy clay with here and there a little pyrites, .....	32	4
The same clay with a little more sand between the seams, ....	7	2
Stiff clay containing black, white and yellow colored earths, also some pieces of rock was brought up, .....	3	10
Stiff blue clay with seams of white sand, .....	4	6
The same clay with a few pieces of rock, .....	0	9
Stiff blue clay, .....	10	0
Bluish lias clay with shells and some pieces belonging to coral, .....	2	0
Stiff black earthy clay containing broken shells, .....	19	0
Very stiff blue clay with a good deal of sand whitish in color, .....	6	5
Bituminous clay containing a large quantity of pyrites, fossilized wood which burns, .....	4	11
Stiff blue sandy clay .....	17	0
Stiff blue sandy clay with seams of the bituminous clay occasionally, ..	10	8

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 320 0

P. S. Since this was written the Bore has been carried 15 feet deeper without any change in the soil. The lignite or fossil wood burns, and emits a smell of coal; with nitric acid it effervesces and a bright brown smoke arises; with sulphuric acid this does not take place: on burning it gives out a very strong suffocating smell of sulphur and arsenic.



IX.—*Note on the black and brown Floriken of Guzerat.* By Lieutenant  
GEORGE FULLJAMES.

Having been induced from reading Colonel SYKES' catalogue of birds in the Deccan to make some observations of the *Otis fulva* and *Otis aurita*, I have the pleasure to send you the following remarks for insertion in your journal.

The *Otis fulva* or brown *Floriken* is a bird common to our side of India, and is found at all seasons of the year in the Deccan particularly; in *Guzerat* however they are more frequently found on the near approach of the monsoon, and in the year 1834 were so plentiful that I bagged no less than 79. Almost the whole of these I examined; and from the facts ascertained, I am of opinion that the *Otis aurita* or black *Floriken* is the cock bird of the *Otis fulva*; that he is only to be found in his black plumage during the monsoon. That he commences changing his feathers early in April and continues molting till June, when he has generally become the black *Floriken*. That at this season he never weighs more than 1 lb. 4 oz. avoirdupois, and seldom so much; while the brown or hen bird weighs at least 1 lb. 8 oz.

That you rarely see the two together at this season, and that I have shot them in all stages of their moulting until I got the perfect black *Floriken*, and on examination have invariably found the testes most fully developed; while in the brown or hen birds the ova have been equally distinct.

They are so plentiful sometimes in *Guzerat* that they may be bought from the Wagrees alive for a few pice.

I am of opinion also that the *Floriken* migrates, but from what part of India I know not. I once heard of a flight being seen coming from the north and going in an easterly direction, but cannot vouch for the fact.

One observation has often occurred to me, which is, I have never shot the bird losing his black feathers and becoming brown; and the only way I can account for it, is that either the bird leaves the country, or it being at that season of the year when a sportsman seldom ventures out, the whole country being covered with vegetation, and the *Floriken* being remarkably quick in hearing they escape unroused.

This one fact I will venture to assert, that no person has ever yet shot a black *Floriken* with the ova developed; it therefore only remains to be proved whether the cock bird undergoes these changes yearly or not, and which will be difficult to ascertain, for in confinement I find they do not thrive, having frequently attempted in vain to keep them.

X.—*Further elucidation of the lát or Silasthambha inscriptions from various sources.* By JAMES PRINSEP, Sec. As. Soc.

It was one of my principal objects in publishing my hasty reading of the Feroz lát inscription in the July journal, without awaiting the corrections and illustrations of a more matured examination, to draw to me the aid of others whom ability, opportunity and interest in the subject, might enable to throw light upon this highly curious monument. Already am I reaping abundantly the fruits of this expectation, and I lose no time in placing them before the Society.

The first correction in point of importance comes as usual from *Ceylon*, the very *Lanka*, (to apply its own fabulous prerogative metaphorically,)—the very *first meridian* whence the true longitude of all ancient Indian history seems destined to be calculated !

I had ascribed the foundation of these pillar monuments to a king of *Ceylon*, because his was the nearest or the only approach to the name recorded in the inscription. I did so before I had read it through, or I should perhaps have felt the difficulties of such a supposition greater when I found him making roads, digging wells, and usurping other secular authority in a country over which he was not himself reigning. It was but the utter absence of any such name in our Indian lists that drove me to a neighbouring state ; one so intimately connected, however, with the *Magadha* court in religion, that there need be no positive impediment to the exercise of munificence by his brother convert on the *Ceylon* throne towards the priesthood of king ASOKA's Indian *Viháras*, nor to their acknowledgment of favors, or adoption of precepts. When I found another inscription in the *Gaya* caves alluding, with the identical pronomen of *Devánampiya*, to DASARATHA, the grandson of the above monarch, I certainly felt more strongly the impression of the Indian origin of the former ; though I still sought in vain for any licence to such an assumption from the pandits and their *puránas*.

The Society will then I am sure participate in the pleasure with which I perused the following passage in a letter just received from the Honorable Mr. GEORGE TURNOUR, our Páli annalist.

" Since I came down to *Colombo*, I have made a most important discovery, connected with the Páli Buddhistical literature. You will find in the Introduction to my Epitome, page lx. that a valuable collection of Páli works was brought back to *Ceylon* from *Siam*, by GEORGE NADORIS, modliar, (chief of the cinnamon department, and then a Buddhist priest) in 1812. In that collection I have found the *Dipowanso* or *Maháwanso* compiled by the fraternity at *Anurádhapura* to which the *Maháwanso* refers ! ! It opens with the passage quoted in the intro-

duction p. lxi. In running over the book cursorily I find the following lines in the sixth *Bhānawāro* or 'Section of 250 lines' in reference to DHAMMA ASOKO :—

*Dvā sattāni vassāni atṭarasawassānicha, sambuddhē parinibbutē, abhisētto Piyadassino.*

After a few lines descriptive of the ceremonies performed at his inauguration, I find

*Chadeguttassāyan nattānatta Bindusārassa, atrajo rajaputto tādā asi Ujjēni-karamolino\*.*

Here then we find that ASOKA was surnamed PIYADASSI; and if you will turn to the 5th chapter of the *Muhāwanso*, especially pp. 28, 29, you will see the circumstances under which Buddhistical edifices were simultaneously erected all over India. When I have seen your article in the July No. I hope to be able to examine this *Dipowanso* carefully, and if I can see any further ground for identifying PIYADASSI with ASOKA, I will not fail to give you particulars."

The date, (218th) year of the Buddhist era (leaves no doubt whatever of the identity of the party, and the term *nattānatta*, rendered by my pandit *naptur-napta*, great-great-grandson must therefore be wrong. RATNA PAULA also assures me that the verse requires the elision of the first two redundant syllables; leaving simply *napta*, or *nattā*, grandson. The Buddhist and Brahmanical texts both concur in the successive relationship of the *Magadha* princes down to this point†.

The line as corrected by RATNA PAULA will run thus :

*Chandraguttasa yaṇ natta, Bindusārassa atrajo, rājaputto tādā āsi, Ujjenikaramolino.*

and united with the former passage may be translated :

"Two hundred and eighteen years after the beatitude of *Buddha*, was the inauguration of PIYADASSI, . . . . who, the grandson of CHANDRAGUPTA, and own son of BINDUSA'RA, was at that time *Viceroy* at *Ujjayani*."

MR. TURNOUR has thus most satisfactorily cleared up a difficulty that might long have proved a stumbling block to the learned against the

- \* The two passages in Sanskrit will run

द्विशतंवर्षाः अष्टादशवर्षाश्च संबुद्धे परिनिर्वाते अभिषेकः प्रियदर्शिनः ।

Two hundred years and eighteen years after *Buddha* had attained perfection, (was) the regal anointment of PIYADASSI.

चन्द्रगुप्तस्य नृपनृपा (more correctly दृढप्रपौत्रः) विन्दुसारस्य अत्रज राजपुत्र तदाशसित उज्जयिनोकरमूलिनः

This the grandson of the grandson of CHANDRAGUPTA, and the own royal son of BINDUSA'RA, was at that time the taker of the revenue of *Ujjain*.—J. P.

† See extract from the *Bhāgavat Purāna*, in a preceding page, 677.

reception of these *lát* inscriptions as genuine monuments of a fixed and classical period, the most ancient yet achieved in such an unequivocal form.

The passage of the *Maháwanso* alluded to above as proving the erection of numerous *Sthupás* and *Viháras* by him is by no means free from exaggeration; but the general facts are certainly borne out by the extensive diffusion of these curious edicts: I give the whole from the indicated page in Mr. TURNOUR's "Epitome."

The transaction is referred to the fourth year of ASOKA's reign, nor can I find any thing noted of so late a date as the 27th year, which is sufficient to exclude any actual mention of the erection of the *Silasthambhas*:—

*Sutwána chaturásiti dhammakhandáni; sobruwí "pijemi téhaṇ pachchékaṇ vihárenáti" bhupati.*

*Datwá tadá channavuti dhanakóṭiṇ mahipati purésu chaturasíti sahasésu mahitalé.*

*Taltha tatthéva rájuhi viháre árabhúpayi: sayaṇ Asokárámaṇtu kárápetaṇ samárabhi.*

*Ratanattaya nigrodhagilánánanti sásané pachchékaṇ sata sahasaṇ so adópesi, diné diné.*

*Dhanéna buddhadinnéna thúpapúja anekaádhá anékésu viháresu anéké akarun sadá.*

*Dhanena dhammadinnéna pachchayé chaturo varé dhammadharáṇaṇ bhikkhúṇaṇ upanésuṇ sadá nará.*

"Having learned that there were eighty-four thousand discourses on the tenets of that doctrine (of *Buddha*), 'I will dedicate' exclaimed the monarch 'a *viháro* to each.' Then bestowing six thousand *koṭis* of treasure on eighty-four thousand towns in *Jambudipo*, at those places he caused the construction of temples to be commenced by the (local) *rájas*; he himself undertook the erection of the *Asokarama* (at *Pupphapura*\*). He bestowed daily, from his regard for the religion, a lac separately to the '*ratanattya*' to NIGRODHO, and to infirm priests.

From the offerings made on account of *Buddho* in various ways, in various cities, various festivals were constantly celebrated in honor of '*thupaṣ*.'

From the offerings made on account of the religion the populace constantly bestowed the four prescribed offerings on the priests, the repositories of true religion."

It must be remembered that ASOKA during the reign of his father at *Pátaliputra*, acted as *uparája* or sub-king at *Ujjain*. His supremacy probably therefore extended farther than that of any other Indian monarch. The minute particulars we now possess of his history and of that of his predecessors, through Mr. TURNOUR's *Páli* authori-

\* This town is called *Pápapura* and *Páwápuri* by Jain authorities, (see COLEBROOKE, *As. Res.* IX.) But the more natural Sanskrit equivalent is *Pupphapura*, "city of flowers."



ties, will be of essential use in expounding our new discovery, and my only excuse for not having taken the epitome already published as my guide before is, that the identity of *PIYADASSI* was not then established.

I think we shall be able to discover the actual names of many of the Buddhist monasteries now visible by their ruins or by columns still standing: thus the uncouth name read in the *Bhilsâ* inscription No. 2 (see p. 458), as *Kokunada sphota*, (or *boda*) *vihâra*, may probably turn out to be *Kukkutarama vihâra* of the following passage.

*Purisânan dasadhêhi satêhi pariwarito, gantwâna Kukkutârâman sonakatthêra maddasun;*

*Samôpatti samôyannan nisinan sanvutindriyan wanditê nalapantan tan natwâ sanghama puchchhi tan.*

"Attended by a retinue of five hundred men, having repaired to *Kukkutarama vihâra*, they saw there the thero *SONAKO* seated absorbed in the *Samepatti* meditation, with the action of the senses suspended. Perceiving that he was silent while he bowed to him, he questioned the priests on this point."

The *Allahabad vihâra* was called *Walukaramo*; that of *Râjagriha*, *Weluwana*, the *Sarun* one probably *Anuradhapura*, that at the capital *Pupphapura*, *Asokaramo*, &c. In three years they were all completed if we may put faith in the following extract:—

*Wihâré té samâraddhê sabbê sabbapurêsu pi sâdhukan tihi vassehi nitthapêsun manôramê.*

*Thérassa Indaguttassa Kammâdhitthâyakassatu iddhiyâchâsu nitthâsi Asokarama wchayo.*

*Jinêna paribhutesu thânesucha, tahiñ, tahiñ, chétiyâni akârêsi ramaniyân bhupati.*

*Purêhi chaturâsiti sahassehi samantatô, lèkhê êkâham ânêsun wihâré nitthitâ iti, &c.*

"All these individuals in different towns, commencing the construction of splendid *wihâras* completed them in three years. By the merit of the thero *INDAGUTTO*, and of that of the undertaker of the work, the *wihara* called *Asokaramo* was also completed in that time. At the places at which the vanquisher of the five deadly sins had worked the works of his mission, the sovereign caused splendid dagobas to be constructed. From eighty-four cities (of which *Pupphapura*) was the centre, despatches were brought on the same day, announcing that the *wihâras* were completed, &c."

Whole pages of the *Mahâwanso* might be quoted bearing upon the various points of the inscription:—thus, the conversion from a sinful life to righteousness, with which the north tablet commences, may be explained either by the circumstances of *ASOKA*'s rise to the throne over the bodies of his 99 murdered brethren; or by his slaughter of the priests at the chief temple, after the seven years surpension of the *uposatha* ceremonies, when the faith was purged;—but for all these I must refer to the work itself. The cause of the addition of *Dharma* to the *Pauranic* name of *ASOKA*, by Buddhist writers, is explained in a very satisfactory line:

*Esákókoti náyittha puré pápena kammuná ; Dhammásokoti náyittha pachchhá purāpēna kammuná.*

"On account of his former sinful conduct (in having murdered his brothers) he was known by the name of ASOKO. Subsequently on account of his pious character, he was distinguished by the name of DHAMMASOKA."

§ 2. *Duplicate inscription from Delhi. Pl. XLI.*

I now turn to an illustration of my text from another quarter, Major P. L. PEW, has fulfilled his promise of forwarding impressions of the broken pillar lying in the late Mr. W. FRASER'S grounds. I should have made them the subject of a separate note but that really they are so precisely the duplicates of the *Feroz* inscription that it is not worth while to do so. The shaft seems to be mutilated and worn in vertical grooves so that many of the letters in each tablet are effaced. Of the fragments received one belongs to the north compartment, beginning with line 10 (see p. 582):—the next much injured, corresponds with the western tablet, beginning with line 10 (p. 587):—the third and last is nearly perfect; beginning with line 8 of the southern inscription it runs on to the conclusion. The words are separated as in the *Feroz* lát, and from this circumstance I have been enabled to certify a few doubtful readings—although many others are provokingly cut off. I insert a lithographed facsimile of the whole, and annex at foot\* all the noted variations of the text, of which proper use can be made when I come to review my labours. Major PEW gives the following particulars of the original locality and present state of the column.

\* I may throw the only deviations I can find into the form of *Emendata* thus:—  
NORTH INSCRIPTION—in the Roman transcript.

Line 18 for *asinavai*, read *ásinavé*.

19 for *dupaṭavekha*, read *du ? paṭivékhé*.

20 read, *ásinavágāmini*.

WEST SIDE—line 10, the letter in chappanti is written  $\omega$ ; it must, I think, be a *gh*, formed from the  $\text{ᳵ}$  *h*.

Line 12 for *abhítá* we have *abhítá*, fearless.

17 for *yitahanti*——*yanisanti*, the preceding letters cut off.

18 for *palitikam*, read *pálitikam*.

19 for *niródhasi*, — *nirudhasi*.

SOUTH SIDE,—line 8, the words are *avadhiye pátakepicha*, and further on *vadhikokute*, &c., quasi बधः ककुटस्य नोक्तैः—'the killing of fowls is not to be done.'

Line 16 we have *tisu chátummasisu sudivasáye*, &c. in Sanskrit त्रिषु चतर्मासेषु सुदिवसे, 'in the festival days in the three 4-monthly periods?'

Line 17 the very is properly made plural, *ntlakhiyanti*.

13 the word *machhe* is evidently separated from *anuposatham* and connected with *avadhiye*; 'fish unkilld' is therefore the right reading.

" This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a *boulee* (*baoli*) or well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces, which when put together measure  $32\frac{3}{4}$  feet long : the diameter of the largest piece is 3 feet 2 inches, and that of the smallest  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The total weight 372 maunds.

The extreme antiquity of the pillar is vouched by its weather-worn aspect, which must needs be the effect of storms and rains that ran their destructive or beneficial course many centuries ago, since the fragments of this column have only been recently disinterred from the mass of ruin, evidently Hindu, where they had reposed in silence and darkness for ages.

I call the ruins (which are those of a well and its attendant edifices—hewn in the live rock of the hill) Hindu, both from *the style*, which resembles that of the more ancient parts of the *Kutab* and from the *materials*, which in this case also, are *quartz*, of which intractable rock the Mussulmans seldom or ever appear to have attempted the sculpture. The pillar, indeed, is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions. I shall await with some impatience your opinion as to their age and import, and whether their date be anterior to those which have been so unexpectedly deciphered on the láts of FERÖZ SHÁH, *Allahabad*, *Bettiah*, &c. Hindu tradition dwells fondly on the name and exploits of the rája PRITHU or PRITHOURA, whose name exists from *Petora-gurh* near *Almorah*, by *Delhi*, down to *Ajmere*, where every thing great or ancient in architecture is referred with one consent to this Indian 'Arthur.'

§ 3. *Note on the locality of the láts of Delhi and Allahabad.*

Lieut. KIRTOE has favored me with a reply to that part of my papers wherein I called attention to the nature of the buildings at FERÖZ's menagerie. He also conjectures that the bird mentioned as *ambakapiliká* should be read *ambaká*, (or *amraká*) *pillaka*, the *pilak* or yellow bird of the mangoe, known to Europeans as the mangoe bird, from its appearance when that fruit comes into season ; *pilak* is the present native name, from *píla* yellow. Mr. TREGGAR also suggests the same interpretation, and I have no doubt of its correctness.

*Remarks on the locality of the láts of Allahabad and Delhi.*

The *Allahabad* pillar stood formerly on a stone terrace within the fortress and near the *Jumna* gate ; not far from the spot, is a temple (now under ground) called "*Pátál Purí*" (पाताल पुरी), in which is the stump of a Banyan tree called "*Achaya Bat*" (अक्षय बट) : it is an object of great veneration.

The temple is buried in the accumulated rubbish of ages, which is found in a greater depth than that of the level of the temple foundations.

The present stone fortress, the work of AKBER and of his son JAHÁNGÍR (whose pedigree is engraved on the pillar) occupies the place of some previous Hindu works of brick, few vestiges of which remain.

I think it probable that the pillar occupied its original position till taken down by Colonel KYD during the alterations that were being made.

Though in all probability the *Achay Bat* may be a Buddhist relic it may nevertheless be otherwise, as the Hindus consider the bur (*Ficus Indicus*) as an emblem of SIVA: the peepul (*Ficus religiosa*) of VISHNU; and the pullas or dawk (*Butea Frondosa*) as that of BRAHMA, and venerate them accordingly.

The FERÓZ SHAH lát at Delhi was placed (as historians assert) in its present position by the emperor FERÓZ; and I certainly see no reason to doubt the truth of it; the style of architecture of the building, on the roof of which it stands, is of the first or Pathání: the same style pervades throughout the whole adjacent buildings. There are no traces of Hindu buildings anywhere near. There is a large bur tree beneath the walls, on the river face, under which is a tomb of some celebrated "peer" who was put to death by order of FERÓZ; this spot is held sacred and much resorted to by both Hindus and Musalmans: the tree is very ancient and may have been a holy tree of the Buddhists. The Mahommedans of India venerate the *Bat* almost as much as the Hindus do, which would account for its preservation though other idols would have been destroyed. With regard to the quarries from whence the different pillars were brought, I think it probable they were floated on rafts down the *Jumna*, being cut from the sandstone rocks at or near *Rájpúr* (*Bádsháh-mahal*) in the *Sewalik*, a few miles above the site of the sunken city of *Béhat*. I made this observation in the year 1831 when I took an experimental trip by water from *Rájpúr* in the *Dún* to *Agra*. I believe both láts are of the same kind of stone, the others I have not seen.

A few remarks on the *Kotla* (called by Captain HOARE "a menagerie") may be acceptable.

FERÓZ SHAH's palace, called the "*Kotla*" was formerly within the north-western angle of the city walls of old *Delhi*, and was the citadel of that place; one face of it was in former years washed by the *Jumna*, which seldom reaches it in these times except in very heavy floods. The works of this citadel were very extensive; the architecture is clumsy in its style and rough in execution, and has no pretence to





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J. P. Jones

aught but strength; the material is the rough wrought stone found on the spot, which is mostly too hard to admit of being better worked. The building, on the roof of which is the pillar, appears to have been a "*bārahdarī*;" it is square and three stories high, all vaulted: it stands at the bottom of a court-yard close to the ramparts of the river face. There are buildings near, which may have been appropriated to a menagerie, but that on which the pillar stands I should decidedly pronounce not to have been so. The *Kotela* was to old *Delhi* what the *Lāl Killa* is to the present city, and was no doubt considered an elegant building in remote times when painted plaister and colored tile were the order of the day.

M. K.

# XI.—*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society.*

*Wednesday Evening, 4th October.*

The Hon'ble Sir EDWARD RYAN, President, in the chair.

Lieut. E. B. CONOLLY, 6th Cavalry, and D. F. McLEOD, Esq. C. S. were ballotted for and elected members.

T. H. MADDOCK, Esq. C. S. proposed by Mr. W. H. MACNAGHTEN, seconded by the President.

Dr. THOMAS CANTOR, proposed by the Secretary, seconded by Mr. W. CRACROFT.

Mr. C. TUCKER, C. S. proposed by Mr. WALTERS, seconded by Dr. STEWART.

Mr. JOHN EWART, C. S. proposed by Dr. STEWART, seconded by Mr. WALTERS.

## *Library.*

The following works were presented by the Rev. Dr. MILL.

Psalterium Davidis Regis et Prophetæ aliorumque Vatum Sacrorum Arabice a Gul. H. MILL, S. T. D.

Liturgia Anglicana, Sen Liber Precum Communium et Administrationis Sacramentorum.—Translated into Arabic by POCOCKE, TYTLER and MILL.

Amœnitatum exoticarum politico-physico-medicarum, Fasciculi V.

Relandi antiquitates sacræ Veterum Hebræorum.

Auber's Rise and Progress of the British power in India—presented by the Government.

The Meteorological Register, August,—presented by the Surveyor General.

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society returned thanks for the first part of the 19th vol. As. Researches.

The Secretary notified the vacancy of the librarianship by the death of Dr. L. BURLINI.

Dr. BURLINI was a native of *Italy*. He received his diploma as a doctor of medicine at Florence on the 30th July, 1794. He came to India in the following year and had supported himself by his practice in this city ever since. He was appointed to the honorary charge of our library in 1826, afterwards receiving a trifling allowance of 50 rupees monthly for conveyance. His attention has been unremitting and the society has lost in him a useful and zealous officer, and a kind and worthy associate. He died at the advanced age of 79.

To succeed to the appointment the following candidates had offered themselves.

Mr. CHESTER, Mr. BARFOOT, Mr. C. W. FRENCH, Mr. FLEURY, Mr. LEWIS DA COSTA, Mr. G. S. HUTTEMAN, Mr. J. MORRIS, Mr. P. DELMAR, senior, Mr. D. DRUMMOND, Mr. G. T. F. SPEED.

To these the Secretary begged to add the name of one who, he was sure, would need no certificate of his qualifications to fill the post with honor to himself and

utility to the Society—the distinguished orientalist M. A. CSOMA KÖRÖSI. He proposed that before taking any of the other applications into consideration, the appointment, with a salary of 100 rupees should be tendered to Mr. CSOMA KÖRÖSI.

Dr. MILL seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

The Secretary brought up the following:

*Report of the Committee of Papers on the proposition of the Statistical Committee, 'that they should be empowered to associate as paying members, persons not on the Society's list.'*

The sole grounds of this proposition, as explained by the president of the Committee, were, to add to the means of the Society for meeting any slight pecuniary expences in procuring statistical information, copying records, and printing forms and circulars. The ability of the society to answer these calls being now increased, it becomes less necessary to entertain the question of admitting associate members, upon which the opinions of the Committee are somewhat divided; and indeed the proposition may be regarded as withdrawn by the following reply from the Secretary to the Statistical Committee. Nevertheless we may take this opportunity of recording our opinion that there is no precedent of an association of *paying* members with a branch of the society deputed to a particular object. The "corresponding members" of the Physical Committee, were merely honorary associates without any voice in their proceedings, or any power over their funds. If there be any compliment in the bestowal of such a title, it may be equally just to confer it upon those gentlemen who may lend their co-operation to the Statistical Committee; but we think it would be an inconvenient course, and one of questionable regularity to erect a new class of subscribers to an exclusive object of the Society's labours.

For those who would join the Society in its general views, but whose circumstances prevent their contributing to the extent of ordinary members, an opening already exists in the grade of "*Associate members*" established in 1835.

For the Committee of Papers,

JAMES PRINSEP,

Secretary.

29th September, 1837.

The letter referred to in the above was then read :—

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 7th instant. The explanation given by the President of the Statistical Committee at the last meeting of your Society of the irregularity with which the Committee was chargeable renders it, I trust, unnecessary to do more now, than to express our regret at the occurrence, and to assure you that nothing can be farther from the intention or wish of the Committee than to disconnect its interests from those of the parent Society, or to seek to form any 'associations' which are not likely to prove mutually advantageous and creditable.

As regards the provision which the Society contemplates making for the requisite expences of the Committee and its amount, I have to observe that as this must necessarily bear the most intimate relation to the extent of the Committee's success, it is not for us to specify particularly the degree of assistance, which we may think ourselves justified in claiming from the Society: the sum sought of Government in aid of our labour was 300 rupees per mensem. Whatever limits however the Society may be pleased to assign, the Committee will be careful not to exceed.

In the distribution of the funds to be placed at the Committee's disposal it is not our intention to entertain any fixed establishment, but to assist individuals engaged in Statistical researches by the occasional services of clerks, and to pay for other works done by contract under the supervision of individual members of the Committee. The accounts will of course be submitted for approval in the usual form.

I have the honor to be, &c.

D. STEWART, M. D.

Secretary to the Statistical Committee.

Calcutta, }  
28th Sept. 1837. }

With regard to the application for funds, it was proposed by the Secretary, and seconded by Mr. CRACROFT, and *Resolved*, that five hundred rupees be placed at the disposal of the Statistical Committee.

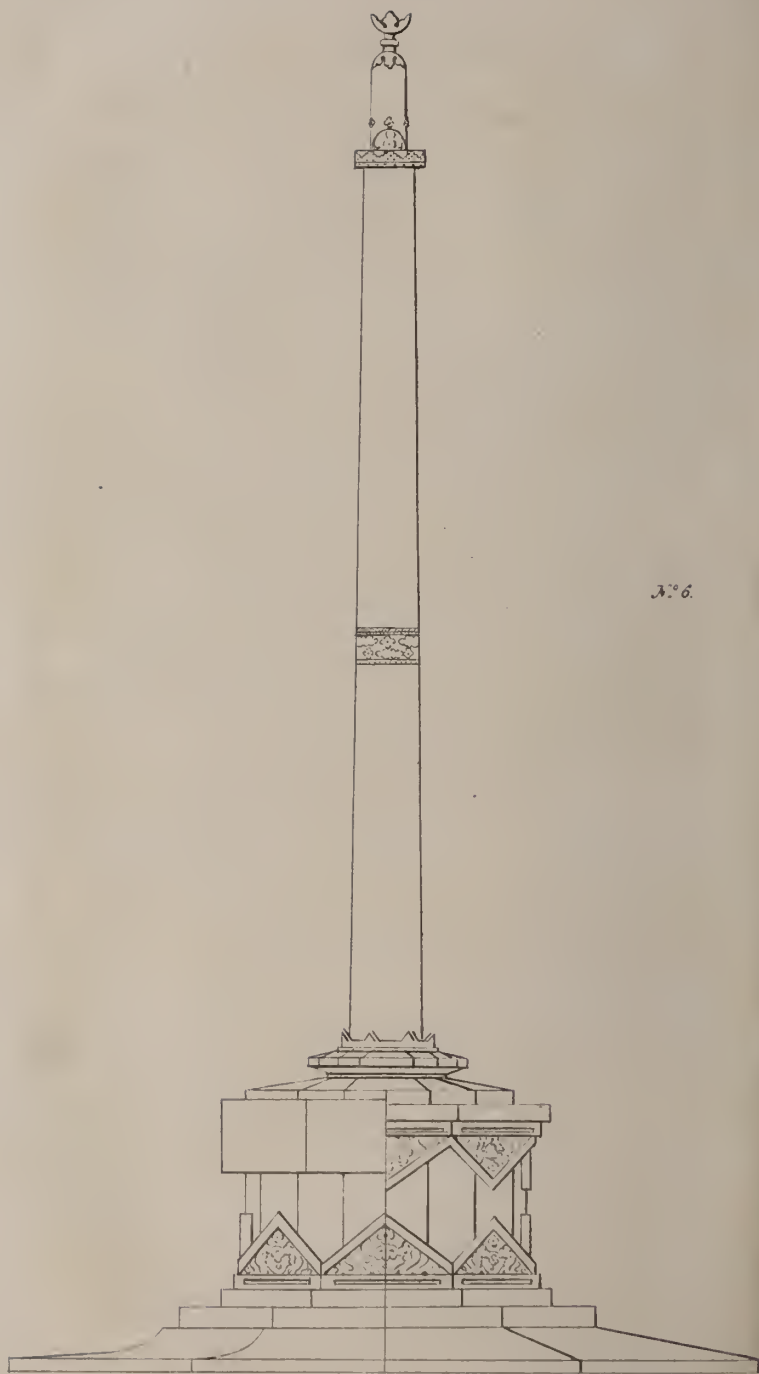


*Plans for the  
Restoration of the Allahabad Pillar*



*Capt. Smith's Original Design*

*Proposed by the Society's Committee*



N.º 6.

*Capt<sup>n</sup> Smith's original Design*

*Proposed by the Society's Committee*

*J. Hodge Jun<sup>r</sup> del<sup>t</sup>*

The special Committee appointed to select one of the designs for the pedestal of the *Allahabad* column submitted the following

*Report.*

In compliance with the desire of the Society's Meeting of the 6th instant, as conveyed in your letter to our address of the 8th, we have carefully perused and considered the several papers and designs therewith received, and beg leave to report the result, as follows.

2. All these six designs prepared by Captain EDWARD SMITH of engineers, are so elegant and in such good taste, that it is difficult to determine between them, which may be the most strikingly handsome, and at the same time the most appropriate.

3. Of the more raised and expensive designs Nos. 1, 2 and 6, we would give the preference to the latter, its base being more in character with the pillar, which it is intended to support, than the others, but modified by either a reduced projection, or total omission, of the large upper band, or substituting inverted triangular compartments similar to those at the foot of the pedestal. We would also prefer a direct instead of a curved slope to the lower step, as being more convenient\*.

4. Of the less raised designs Nos. 3, 4 and 5, we give a decided preference to No. 3, (see accompanying sketch) as being very light and elegant while it preserves the pure Hindu character in its form and details; moreover in order to relieve it from some of those disadvantages, which form Captain SMITH's principal objections to these latter designs, should No. 3 be ultimately determined on, we would suggest the adoption of the sloping platform as sketched in pencil at the Military Board by Major IRVINE or Captain SANNERS, which we consider to be a very great improvement, the base becoming thereby more on a level with the eye of the beholder.

5. The additional elevation thus given, would amount to two feet, making the upper part of the base from which the pillar will spring, exactly 6 feet from the surface.

6. We observe in the section submitted by Captain SMITH in illustration of his intended mode of fixing the root of the pillar in the stone basement, that he proposes cutting a square hole in the centre and under part of the shaft, about one-third of its diameter, so as to let it down on a square upright stone of the same measurement. This we are apprehensive might not be considered sufficiently stable, and we would suggest in preference that an octagon stone of 6½ feet diameter and 2 feet thick be procured from *Chunar*, and that an opening be cut in its centre, to receive the lower part of the pillar in its entire size, to the depth of one foot. This stone well bedded in good brick masonry, with the aid of the upper stone work judiciously dove-tailed together, would in our opinion give it the utmost stability that could be required. Nevertheless we may safely confide these arrangements to Captain SMITH's well known skill and judgment, should circumstances admit of his undertaking the erection of the pillar, but in case it should fall into other hands the hint may be useful.

7. On the subject of Captain SMITH's proposed new capital and surmounting stone ornament, although we consider the design a very beautiful one, we are unanimously of opinion that it is very desirable to effect the restoration of the original capital and lion, if practicable; if not, we think that the design now submitted may be considered a very appropriate and elegant finish to the pillar.

We have the honor to be, &c.

D. McLEOD,  
W. N. FORBES,  
W. P. GRANT,  
A. CUNNINGHAM.

*Fort William, }  
September 30th, 1837. }*

Proposed by the Secretary, seconded by Dr. SWINEY, and *Resolved*, that the report be adopted with thanks, and that a copy be communicated to the Military Board.

The Committee of Papers reported favorably on Nawáb TUHAWER JANG's proposal to print the *Sharaya ul Islám*.

\* See the accompanying sketch. We confess our preference for the original design as it stands or omitting the upper member.—ED.

Resolved, that the work be printed on joint account with the Nawáb, an advance of 1000 rupees to be made by both parties to the Secretary (account Oriental Publication Fund) to meet the expences.

The Reverend JOHN WILSON, President of the *Bombay Literary Society* solicited the Society's patronage to the *George Nameh*, a Persian epic written by the late MOOLLA FERÖZ, and now under publication by his nephew. Referred to the Committee of Papers.

[See advertisement page.]

The President then, in compliance with the resolution of last meeting, rose, the members also standing, and read the following

ADDRESS TO DR. MILL.

*The Asiatic Society, to the Reverend W. H. Mill, D. D. Principal of Bishop's College, their Vice-President.*

REVEREND SIR,

The intelligence of your intention to return immediately to Europe has been received by us with feelings of deep regret, impressed as we are with the conviction that India is about to sustain, by your departure, a loss which cannot easily be repaired.

It will rest with higher authority than the *Asiatic Society*, to bear witness to the unwearied zeal and fervent piety by which you have been uniformly distinguished in the discharge of the sacred duties committed to your care; but it is peculiarly our privilege to testify, in the most public manner, our sense of the benefit we have derived from your abilities and learning, as well as to convey some parting token of our esteem and respect to a Scholar whose presence among us we have always regarded with feelings of pride and satisfaction.

It is now sixteen years since you arrived in this country. While yet a young man, you had established for yourself a literary reputation of no common order, having excelled on an arena where excellence could have been won only by the united efforts of genius and industry. We hailed your arrival therefore with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction, indulging in the hope that the classical languages and literature of the East would receive from you a share of that attention which had already been so successfully devoted to the learning and science of the West. This hope has since been amply realized.

The Journals of our Society contain abundant evidence of your patient research, of your correct judgment, and of your profound erudition.

Your translation from the Sanskrit of the first part of *Cálidása's Umd*, affords indisputable proof of your skill as a poet and a commentator; while your qualifications as a historian and a philologist have been clearly established by your restoration, with valuable critical and historical notices, of the *Allahabad Inscription*, and by your full and accurate translation of the *Shekháwatt Inscription* found in the temple of *Harsha* at *Oncha pahár*, and of that discovered at *Bhittri* near *Ghazipore*. In your comments on the Macan Manuscript of the *Alif Leila*, we trace at once the minute accuracy of an experienced critic and the refined taste of an accomplished scholar.

In your Arabic Treatise on Algebra, and in your Hebrew collation of the Psalms in the same language, we have a durable monument of your learning and piety. But the most valuable of your literary undertakings is your Sanskrit Poem, the *Christa Sangita*. In that beautiful work the praises of our Redeemer have been for the first time sung in the sacred language of the *Vedas*. It is your peculiar boast that you have caused the purest doctrines to flow in the stream of this noble language. To the whole body of the learned Hindus you have thus rendered accessible the sublimest truths, by conveying them in a channel to which, as to their own venerated river, they ascribe the power of purifying all it touches. To a mind like yours this must be an inexhaustible source of gratifying reflection.

But, Sir, we feel that we should be doing you an injustice, were we to describe at greater length, the fruits of your studies already before the public. We feel that no conception can be formed of the stores of your capacious mind from the comparatively small samples of your labours which have been given to the world. We feel that to the unobtrusive nature of your character is owing the infrequency of your appearance as an author, and we know that you have assiduously



improved your great faculties ;—that your scientific attainments are on the most extended scale ;—that as a Hebrew Scholar you were early distinguished ;—that your knowledge as a modern Linguist may be said to be universal ;—that you are equally familiar with the astronomy of the *Siddhantas*, the mythology of the *Purānas*, and the mystical doctrines of the *Vedas* ; while there is no department of the literature and science of Arabia, that has escaped your scrutinizing research.

We trust that, in the leisure of dignified retirement, you will be enabled to put forth the maturer fruits of your rich and highly cultivated mind. We are confident that your well earned reputation will be sustained by whatever you perform ; and we are sanguine enough to hope that our country may now boast of possessing an Englishman, the depth and variety of whose oriental studies are not surpassed by any (numerous and distinguished as they are) of the Scholars of the continent.

We cannot allow this opportunity to pass without assuring you of the deep sense of obligation we feel towards you for your unremitting attention to the duties of your station as *Vice-President* of our Society, and for the alacrity with which on all occasions you have afforded us the benefit of your opinion and advice, and the aid of your learning and judgment on the difficult and continually recurring references that have been submitted to our consideration.

We are in some degree consoled for your loss to ourselves by reflecting that, here you have no more to learn :—that though your acquirements are beyond the standard, which is ordinarily reached in the longest and most laborious life, you are yet in the vigor of manhood ; and that you are about to return to a land where you will meet with the distinction, which is due to abilities so eminent and to attainments so various.

It is our earnest desire that you will gratify us by sitting for your Portrait as soon after arrival in England as may be convenient to yourself. For the Members of our Society who have the happiness to know you, no token of reminiscence is requisite ; but the wish is reasonable that our Hall should be decorated with the resemblance of one, who, while among us, was so useful and so distinguished a Member of our Society.

(Signed) EDWARD RYAN, *President*.

The Reverend Dr. MILL read the following reply, the President and members still standing.

MR. PRESIDENT,

The Address which you, in the name of this Society, have done me the high honor of presenting to me, is one which I cannot rise to answer without some feelings of doubt and embarrassment. For I fear to incur the imputation of affected modesty on the one hand,—or on the other, what I would equally wish to avoid, the appearance of slighting in any degree the deliberate judgment of an assembly like this,—were I to give expression to my actual sentiments, on hearing the terms of strong and noble eulogy with which you have dignified my scanty contributions to your learned stores, and the comparatively humble attainments from which those contributions have proceeded. But whatever may be the real value of these labours and attainments,—I feel, and must ever continue to feel, the great obligation which your praise imposes on me, of aiming to resemble as far as I may, that standard of excellence which your too favorable judgment has inferred from the specimens of me already before you. I must ever consider it among the strongest additional incentives to the assiduous cultivation of that knowledge, in promoting which the Asiatic Society has long held so distinguished a place : a cause which I cannot but consider as intimately connected with that of mental improvement and true religion.

I have long been impressed with the conviction that as an accurate knowledge of the intellectual state of any people must precede and accompany all enlightened efforts for their amelioration,—so to attempt that amelioration by appealing entirely to the lower principles of our nature, the love of comforts and luxuries and the like, while we disregard and despise the forms, however imperfect they may be, in which their own ideas of mental and moral elevation are embodied,—is to overlook a most essential element in the problem of human improvement,—to slight equally the spiritual and high nature of man, and the history of our

own gradual progress to the eminence we have reached. This would be true, even if the language and literature in which these ideas were incorporated by the natives of this country were far inferior to what they are known and acknowledged to be by the most accomplished spirits of civilized Europe,—the one nearly unrivalled for its powers of combination and expression—the other distinguished by a peculiar grace and tenderness of sentiment, and in the higher flights of speculation into regions where man requires better guidance than his own reason can impart—characterized, even when most tarnished by error, by a singular acuteness and profundity, as well as grandeur of thought. Now if it be a mistake, in matters of religion particularly, to avail ourselves of what is good and just in heathen theology, with a view to its rectification by revealed truth; it is a mistake certainly in which the Apostle of the Gentiles has led the way, as any one may see who observes his appeal not only to the ethical but the theological poetry of heathenism—even when most nearly treading on the verge of that same Pantheistic sentiment which characterizes the theology of heathen India: and if any precedent could be wanted after this inspired authority, we might find it in the course taken by all the great lights of the Church, the BASILS, the CHRYSOSTOMS, the AUGUSTINES,—when the expansive power of Christianity, with much of its primitive fervour, was seen in close and *more equal* juxtaposition with the faded yet still conspicuous splendours of Western Gentilism. These considerations (if authority were needed where the reason of the case speaks with sufficient distinctness) had weight with me in the conception of that work which the Society has honored with such distinguished approbation. I am sensible that to conceive and to execute are very different things, and I cannot venture to take to myself all which your kind judgment has been led, perhaps too readily, to transfer from the one to the other: yet I cannot see the manner in which learned natives have received many portions of this work,—I cannot see the unhesitating manner in which their sentiment has been adopted in this assembly, including some whom only the increased complexity of public affairs prevents from marching in equal steps with the COLEBROOKES and the WILSONS of former days,—without satisfaction at the result of the experiment, and hope for the future.

I would not however be thought to limit my interest in the Researches of the Society to matters of this high bearing: for no speculations into either the works of nature, or the monuments of man, are without their proper claim to attention: and just and reasonable as it is to inquire into the solid utility of any pursuit we undertake,—it never appeared to me either wise or worthy to ask at every turn what special usefulness, or bearing on present concerns, may appear in each part or section of the study before us. In science we know that things, which were once thought to be mere food of learned and abstract mathematical speculation, have turned out in the progress of knowledge to subserve the most practical purposes; and with respect to those literary and antiquarian researches, which form the more proper object of this Society,—while nothing that gives us clear knowledge of the history of man and the progress of mind ought to be deemed unimportant by us,—we must remember also that we cannot exactly determine beforehand how far any fragment or morsel of history may conduce to that clear knowledge in the end. In investigating the former history of India, where from the almost total absence of written documents, we must needs proceed by such fragments and morsels,—it is very necessary to hear this in mind. With respect to my own occasional share in these researches,—of which you have made such kind and flattering mention,—I fear that what I have succeeded in deciphering has scarcely adequately repaid the labour bestowed: my own judgment could never admit the idea, which some even of considerable eminence in these pursuits would have led me to entertain as probable, that the classical period of Indian history had been attained: I adopted at length firmly, however reluctantly, the conviction which both internal and external evidence forced upon me, that the monuments in question belonged to a much darker as well as more recent age. A better fortune, as well as a higher merit, has characterised the efforts in the same kind of another Member of the Society now present; whose happy researches on other monuments, conducted under much greater disadvantages in every way than mine, has finally led to a conclusion, which I think all but certainly established, that they belong to

and illustrate a most classical and important part of the history of this country. I beg my friend the Secretary's pardon for talking thus of disadvantages; for it appears almost ungracious to notice what, however enlanching, as it does, the eminent inductive sagacity that he has displayed in his discovery, might seem also to derogate from the universality of his varied and extensive knowledge. I would not have mentioned them—had I not been convinced that he needs but the *will*, if he could find the leisure, to rid himself entirely of them. I know at least that if he could bend his thoughts that way, he needs far less time than most men to add a critical knowledge of the learned languages of the country, so auxiliary to his successful researches in the coins and monuments of India,—to the many other distinguished merits which have made his *Journal* of our Society, even in his sole portion of it, the object of attention to literary Europe. Of his value as a Secretary, I cannot possibly say more than that he has caused even the loss of the transcendent merits of WILSON to cease to be thought irreparable by us.

My business, however, as I must not forget, is not to express my sense of the merits of other Officers of this Society, (however incidentally forced on my notice in this instance,)—but to acknowledge your kind opinion of myself and to accede thankfully to the proof of it contained in your parting request to me. To be associated in this manner in the remembrance of this Society with its illustrious founder, and the many others whose contributions have conferred ornament and dignity on its proceedings,—is what I cannot suffer even my sense of comparative unworthiness to prevent esteeming a great source of gratification. To you, Mr. President, who have so long added to the duties of your high station in this settlement, a zealous and able administration of the affairs of this Society,—as well as to your colleague in both these respects, of whom, being now absent, (as I regret to perceive,) from illness, I may speak with more freedom,—as one whose distinguished scientific and literary attainments add lustre to his other excellent qualities,—I am well pleased to leave this token of recollection of myself, whose friendship with both was begun in the academic associations of a far different clime from this, in which again I hope we may yet meet. To the other very learned and able Vice-Presidents, and to all, whether countrymen or natives of India, who may be led to take interest in the works you have mentioned with such marked approbation,—I am glad to present, when absent, some memento of my endeavours, such as they are, to instruct or to aid them. Once more, Gentlemen, I thank you for your kind sentiments towards me, and bid you most heartily farewell.

(Signed)

W. H. MILL.

Resolved, on the motion of Mr. W. CROCKET, that the address and the reply be entered in the outcoming volume of the *Researches*.

The President moved that all farther business be adjourned to the next meeting.

The Secretary however ere he closed his boxes begged to be allowed to mention one subject of their contents, that he could not allow himself to withhold from his friend Dr. MILL, after the warm interest he had just evinced in the progress of the investigations upon which he had lately been engaged. A letter just received from the eminent Pāli scholar Mr. TURNOUR gave confirmation the most unequivocal to the supposition just expressed by the learned Vice-President that the *lāts* were monuments of the classical age of Indian history. Mr. TURNOUR had proved from an ancient Pāli work that PIYADASI was no other than the great ASOKA himself, who reigned paramount over India in the third century before the Christian era. [The communication is printed in a preceding page.]

Neither could he allow himself to sit down on this last opportunity of enjoying Dr. MILL's society without shewing him what would nearly interest him in an equal degree, the fruit of Captain BURNES's researches on the Indus, the first Sanskrit monument we had seen from the neighbourhood of *Kābul*—a transcript of a mutilated inscription from *Hünd*, 20 miles above *Attock*.—Capt. BURNES had left the white marble slab on which it was engraved at *Peshāwer* awaiting the Society's instructions. He hoped by the next meeting to give a further account of it.

The members present then shook hands with Dr. MILL, and the meeting adjourned.



*Meteorological Register, kept at the Assay Office Calcutta, for the Month of September, 1837.*

Day of the Month.	Observations at 10 A. M.										Observations at 4 P. M.										Rain.		Wind.		Weather.	
	Old Stand. Barometer at 39°.	New Stand. Barometer reduced.	Thermome- ter in air.	Depression of wet-bulb.	Do. by less. Hygro.	Dew-point.	Hair Hy- grometer.	Centesimal tension of vapour by wet-bulb.	Do. by hair Hygrom.	Calculated Humidity.	Old Stand. Barometer at 39°.	New Stand. Barometer reduced.	Thermome- ter in air.	Depression of wet-bulb.	Do. by less. Hygro.	Dew-point.	Hair Hy- grometer.	Centesimal tension of vapour by wet-bulb.	Do. by hair Hygrom.	Calculated Humidity.	Cold on roof. Heat in sun's rays on roof.	On the ground. At elevation 45 feet.	10 A. M.	4 P. M.	Morning.	Evening.
1	29.542	29.508	86.1	4.9	3.5	78.4	92	80	82	69	29.542	29.512	87.0	6.4	4.7	75.8	88	73	74	70	78.0	0.10	N. E.	N. E.	fine.	fine.
2	29.525	29.492	84.8	5.0	4.2	77.2	91	78	80	78	29.525	29.495	84.4	3.1	2.7	75.2	95	85	89	85	77.6	2.10	N. E.	N. E.	cloudy.	showery.
3	29.570	29.537	82.0	2.5	2.0	77.3	96	88	91	85	29.570	29.540	82.7	1.9	1.5	77.8	96	91	91	85	75.0	2.10	N. E.	O.	rain. set.	fine.
4	29.566	29.533	84.3	2.9	2.5	77.3	94	87	87	87	29.566	29.536	83.6	3.6	3.2	77.2	88	90	91	87	74.2	1.38	S. E.	S. E.	overcast.	do.
5	29.529	29.496	84.9	4.3	4.2	76.0	91	82	80	83	29.529	29.496	87.7	6.2	5.9	77.1	89	75	76	72	77.0	0.13	S. W.	S. W.	cum. stra.	nimbi.
6	29.579	29.546	84.1	4.0	4.2	75.1	91	83	80	76	29.579	29.546	87.1	5.5	5.3	76.2	89	78	76	70	77.0	0.53	S. E.	S. E.	nimbi.	do misty.
7	29.538	29.505	85.1	1.5	4.2	77.8	91	97	80	79	29.538	29.505	86.9	4.1	3.0	77.7	94	82	87	74	77.2	0.53	S. W.	N. W.	fine.	rain.
8	29.540	29.507	86.8	4.5	4.5	76.0	91	83	80	71	29.540	29.507	86.9	6.7	5.2	75.2	87	75	73	60	77.0	0.37	N. E.	N. E.	cum. stra.	nimbi cldy.
9	29.560	29.527	85.8	3.2	3.3	76.2	94	86	87	80	29.560	29.527	83.1	5.4	5.2	77.5	89	78	76	69	77.0	0.40	N. E.	N. E.	do	do thunder.
10	29.558	29.525	85.5	3.1	3.5	78.5	94	86	87	81	29.558	29.525	83.7	3.3	2.9	78.8	93	85	84	85	77.8	0.39	N.	N.	fine.	rain.
11	29.593	29.560	84.5	3.4	3.6	78.1	93	85	84	82	29.593	29.560	86.2	4.8	4.7	76.4	91	80	80	80	75.8	0.55	S. E.	S. E.	cloudy.	overcast
12	29.708	29.675	84.7	3.4	3.4	78.4	93	85	84	82	29.708	29.675	87.9	6.9	7.0	76.0	85	72	68	63	75.0	0.81	S. W.	S. W.	fair.	fine.
13	29.774	29.741	83.7	3.7	3.8	77.0	92	82	82	81	29.774	29.741	90.1	7.7	8.1	75.0	84	70	65	62	78.9	0.77	S. E.	S. W.	cir cum.	do
14	29.815	29.782	84.9	4.1	4.3	76.2	92	82	82	75	29.815	29.782	89.7	9.0	8.6	75.0	83	65	65	63	79.8	0.10	S.	S.	fine, cum.	do
15	29.814	29.781	85.3	4.8	4.3	76.4	91	80	80	76	29.814	29.781	87.0	5.2	4.9	77.8	92	79	82	74	78.5	0.03	S.	S.	do	do
16	29.722	29.689	84.8	3.6	3.4	78.5	94	85	87	82	29.722	29.689	87.7	3.7	3.4	80.4	93	85	84	79	78.0		S. W.	S. W.	fine, cum.	do
17	29.775	29.742	86.5	4.1	3.7	78.8	93	82	84	79	29.775	29.742	89.7	8.8	8.2	77.0	83	67	74	63	78.0		S. W.	S. W.	cumuli, cir.	do
18	29.798	29.765	85.5	4.5	4.0	77.6	91	81	80	75	29.798	29.765	89.7	5.4	6.0	77.0	81	79	74	70	79.8		S. W.	S. W.	do fine.	cir cum.
19	29.820	29.787	86.4	4.7	4.8	79.0	90	80	78	80	29.820	29.787	90.3	9.3	9.3	75.7	79	65	57	63	79.2		S.	S. W.	cum do.	do
20	29.839	29.806	86.6	4.9	5.4	78.1	90	80	78	77	29.839	29.806	93.0	10.7	11.1	75.7	78	60	55	58	74.8		S.	S. E.	do	do
21	29.887	29.854	86.3	5.5	6.1	77.0	87	72	72	75	29.887	29.854	89.7	7.0	7.0	77.0	85	72	68	70	78.0		S.	S.	do	do
22	29.871	29.838	85.5	3.2	4.9	77.4	89	85	76	77	29.871	29.838	91.3	7.6	7.2	78.7	85	70	68	66	73.5	0.71	S.	S.	clouds, hazy.	cumuli.
23	29.852	29.819	85.9	6.5	6.2	76.4	87	72	72	74	29.852	29.819	91.4	11.0	10.2	75.5	80	59	59	60	73.5		S. W.	S. W.	cum. fine.	do, fine.
24	29.865	29.832	86.0	6.5	6.6	76.0	86	72	70	73	29.865	29.832	84.4	5.8	4.1	78.8	88	59	59	61	70.2	0.51	S. W.	S. E.	cum. stra.	rain thunder.
25	29.865	29.832	86.0	6.5	6.6	76.0	86	72	70	73	29.865	29.832	84.4	5.8	4.1	78.8	88	59	59	61	70.2	0.51	S. W.	S. E.	cum. fine.	do, fine.
26	29.870	29.837	86.7	5.1	5.6	75.0	89	77	76	71	29.870	29.837	85.3	5.8	4.7	76.7	89	75	76	76	71.8	0.07	S. E.	S. E.	fine cum.	showery.
27	29.829	29.796	84.9	4.3	4.4	76.3	90	81	78	80	29.829	29.796	90.3	9.7	10.2	73.4	81	63	67	67	74.8		N. W.	N. E.	cumuli, cir.	do
28	29.843	29.810	85.5	4.8	4.8	77.7	89	80	76	75	29.843	29.810	92.9	10.2	9.6	73.9	79	62	57	55	77.8		N. E.	N. E.	do	thunder
29	29.826	29.793	83.8	4.3	4.6	76.0	91	82	80	79	29.826	29.793	87.1	5.9	4.8	78.0	87	76	72	75	75.0		S. W.	S. O.	do	cloudy.
30	29.829	29.796	86.3	5.3	6.2	75.6	86	77	70	79	29.829	29.796	89.0	7.4	7.0	76.6	85	70	68	67	74.3	0.35	N. E.	S.	cumuli.	do
Mean.	29.713	29.678	85.3	4.2	4.4	77.2	91	81	80	77	29.713	29.678	89.2	6.4	6.1	76.8	87	74	72	70	76.6	9.10	Southerly		Rain.	

On the 27th at 7h. P. M. a brilliant meteor was seen at Calcutta—it proceeded from near the polar star towards the north-east. On the 28th a water spout was seen on the salt-







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